A

BREVIARY

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PARLIAMENT

OF

ENGLAND.

Expreſſed in three parts:

1. *The Cauſes and Beginning of the Civil War of* England.
2. *A ſhort mention of the Progreſs of that Civil War.*
3. *A compendious Relation of the Original and Progreſs of the Second Civil War.*

Written by *Thomas May* Eſq;.

LONDON, Printed for *Anne Brewſter*, 1689.

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THE Causes and Beginnings OF THE CIVIL WAR OF ENGLAND.

OF the Parliament of *England*, and beginning of that sad War, which for so many years raged within the bowels of a distressed Kingdom, whosoever will write, though never so briefly, must of necessity premise somewhat touching the Causes (according to the state of the affairs and times) of assembling that Parliament.

And though the condition of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were during that time no whit happier, (which being subject to the same King were expos'd to the same Calamity) our discourse especially shall be of *England* as the noblest Kingdom, and the Royal seat; from whence the distemper might first arise, and be derived to the rest: And wonderful it may seem

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ſeem how great the diſtemper of that Government was, which ingendered ſo great a diſeaſe! how great the malignity of that diſeaſe, to which a Parliament was not ſufficient Medicine!

Forty years old was King *Charles*, and fifteen years had he reigned when this Parliament was called: ſo long had the Laws been violated (more than under any King) the Liberties of the people invaded, and the authority of Parliament, by which Laws and Liberties are ſupported, trodden under foot: which had by degrees much diſcontented the *Engliſh Nation*.

For the King, within the firſt four years of his Reign, had called three Parliaments, and ſoon diſſolved them all, before they could any way benefit the Commonwealth, or redreſs the leaſt grievance of the People. In the ſecond, he granted and ſigned the *Petition of Right*, but ſuddenly breaking up that Parliament, he acted the ſame things in violation of Laws, which he had done before. So that it was manifeſt that the peoples Liberties, by grant of that Petition, were not fortified, but utterly overthrown; and it appeared, neither Laws themſelves could give protection, nor the Kings Faith ſecurity to the People. After the diſſolution of the third Parliament, men were forbidden by Proclamation to ſpeak any more of Parliaments. In this Interval, the people at home were fleeced by Monopolies, and many ways exacted upon by illegall taxes. Abroad, ſcarce any negotiations were made, but ſuch as

were

were deſtructive to Religion and the Commonwealth. In the beginning of his Reign an unhappy and diſhonourable Expedition was made againſt the Spaniard, to ſurpriſe *Cales*; another more ſad than that, againſt the French, in the following year at the Iſle of *Rhee*; but that of all other was moſt deſtructive to the Proteſtant Religion, that King *Charles*, not long before that time had lent a ſtrong Navy to the King of *France*; by whoſe force the Proteſtant Ships through all *France* were vanquiſhed and ſcattered, and the miſerable Town of *Rochel* ſubdued by Famine, the worſt of all Enemies.

The King in the mean time, by many illegal wayes raiſed money through *England*, great ſums he borrowed of the unwilling people by privy Seals, and Ship-money, the greateſt of all taxes was levied upon them. Nor was there any remedy left, for the Judges by altering a clauſe in their Patents, were enforced to ſerve the Kings will. Though the Kingdoms liberties were thus oppreſſed, yet peace continued; and *England* ſeemed happy in that tranquillity; untill the fatal Coal, which afterwards was blown into ſo great a fire through the three Kingdoms, began to be kindled in the year 1637. by a deſign which the King had upon *Scotland*; which was (as pretended) to make a conformity of Church-worſhip, and Eccleſiaſtical government between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. The dignity and pomp of Prelacy had been much of late promoted in *England*, in purſuance whereof many temporal

offices and honours were conferred upon persons Ecclesiastical, many Ceremonies and Innovations brought into the Church, and too near approaches made in some points of Doctrine to the Romish Church, and a great contempt thrown upon the other reformed Churches in *Europe*: Popery seemed to be much countenanced in the Court, and by reason of the Queens great power with the King, several Nuntio's from the Pope as *Panzani*, *Conn* and *Rossetti* had beed received with great honour in the Court of *England*.

The King had made great preparations for that work in *Scotland*, and bestowed many temporal offices and dignities upon Bishops in that Kingdom. In particular, eleven of the Scottish Bishops (being in all but 14) were made privy Counsellors. But this displeased the Scots, to whom Episcopacy it self was not acceptable; and having been once thrown out of that kingdom, was not restored but by great endeavour and policy of King *James*.

A book of Liturgy was sent by the King into *Scotland* in the year 1637. with an expres Command, that they should read it publickly in their Churches. The Scots complained, that a thing of so great concernment, having not been allowed by their Church in a National Synod, should be imposed upon them; they complained likewise that it was not the same with the book of *England*, but alterations were made: some of them (they confessed) were for the better, but more for the worse: Lastly, they affirmed, that wheresoever that book varies from the *English* Liturgy,

gy, it approaches directly to the Roman Miſſal, and all the parts of Popery are there; but the King ſeemed to excuſe thoſe alterations in his great Declaration. Theſe are his words (which were not ſatisfactory to the Scots.)

We ſuppoſing that they might have taken ſome offence, if we ſhould have tendered them the Engliſh *Service Book* totidem verbis: *and that ſome factious ſpirits would have endeavoured to have miſconſtrued it as a badge of dependency of that Church upon this of* England, *which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their Laws and Liberties; We held it fitter that a new Book ſhould be compoſed by their own Biſhops in ſubſtance not differing from that of* England, *that ſo the Roman party might not upbraid us with any weighty or material differences in our Liturgies; and yet in ſome few inſenſible alterations differing from that, it might truly and juſtly be reputed a Book of that Churches own compoſing, and eſtabliſhed by Our Royal authority, as King of* Scotland.

This Book of Liturgy was read, as the King commanded, in the great Church at *Edenburgh*, but not without a great uprore, in which the Biſhop that read it, hardly eſcaped; the Plebeians firſt ſtirred, but preſently after the Nobility and Miniſters publickly avowed their deteſtation of that Book; ſome therefore were ſent to the King to intreat him that he would recal his command concerning it.

But the King was immovable, and ſent another peremptory command for reading of the Book; and that all people who came as Petitioners againſt it,

it, ſhould depart from *Edenburgh*, which did but increaſe the number of Petitioners, who intreated the Council once more to ſend to the King concerning it; in the mean time they much accuſed their Biſhops, as the cauſers of this Innovation.

The King commanded his Council to receive no more Petitions from them, and ſent the Earl of *Traquare* into *Scotland* with a Proclamation, which was publiſhed at *Sterlin*, wherein he declared, *That the Biſhops were wrongfully accuſed about the Prayer Book, that he himſelf was the Author of it, and all done by his Command; he condemned their proceedings as tumultuous, and denounced the puniſhment of high Treaſon to thoſe who perſiſted.*

Againſt this Proclamation the Lords of the Commiſſion proteſted; and ſo did the Miniſters, and others, juſtifying their aſſembly to be lawful, as tending to Gods glory, the Kings honour, and liberty of the Nation. Immediately after they entred into a Solemn Covenant for defence of their Religion and Liberties: This Covenant was ſubſcribed not only by the Nobles, but all ſorts of men; that their number within few months was many thouſands: the King enraged did by many meſſengers condemn that Covenant, the Scots defended it; what was alledged on both ſides is more largely expreſſed in that Book entituled *Tumultus Scotici.*

In *June* the Marqueſs *Hamilton* as Commiſſioner from the King came to *Edenburgh*; who in vain dealt with the Covenanters to renounce their Covenant, but publiſhed a Proclamation of the Kings,

Kings, wherein he forbears to preſs the reading that prayer book upon them, and reſolved to call both a Parliament and Synod; but the Covenanters in their Proteſtation declare that the Kings grants were not large enough to cure their preſent diſtempers, and offer ſome particular exceptions; ſo great grew the differences, and altercations upon ſeveral points, that the Marqueſs *Hamilton* was enforced that year to make two journies into *England* to the King, and at laſt by the Kings command called a National Synod; which accordingly began at *Glaſco*, *November* 1. but within ſeven days the Marqueſs diſſolved that Synod, alledging for reaſons, that they had broken the Laws of a free Synod both in the manner of their Elections, and in other buſineſſes during their ſitting. But they proteſted againſt that diſſolution, and continued their Synod, after that the Marqueſs was gone away; and proceeded in ſuch Laws and decrees as they judged fit for the preſent State, after which they diſſolved the Synod, and publiſhed a declaration from *Edenburgh* to all ſincere and good Chriſtians in *England* concerning their innocency and intentions.

The King, after a ſharp Proclamation againſt the Scots, which he commanded to be read in all *Engliſh* Churches, raiſed an Army to ſubdue them by force, in which the Nobles, and all Gentlemen his ſervants were commanded to attend him at *York* the firſt of *April* with Horſe and arms ſuitable to their degree; the Earl of *Arundell* was made General, and a rich and well appointed

ted Army at that time and place attended the King.

But the people of *England* in general abhorred that wicked War, as a deſign to enſlave both Nations, and loved the *Scots* as brethren, perſecuted by the ſame power which had long oppreſſed themſelves: they likewiſe hoped that ſuch an occaſion might neceſſitate the King to call a Parliament in *England*, ſo long wanted there: but the King, while he could make any other ſhift, how low ſoever and diſhonourable, would not endure to think of a Parliament.

The Covenanting Lords of *Scotland* publiſhed a Remonſtrance in anſwer to the Kings Proclamation, and wiſely provided againſt all invaſions that might be made upon them on any ſide; they ſeized the conſiderable Forts, and diſarmed all ſuſpected perſons without any great trouble, electing Sir *Alexander Leſly*, an old ſouldier, for their General, to whom all the Noblemen were content to give obedience, at which time the King commanded the Parliament of *Scotland* todiſſolve, and his command was obeyed.

But the threatned War did not proceed; it pleaſed God that by the happy mediation of ſome honeſt Lords of both Nations, and upon a conference granted, that the paeification was made and ſolemnly declared on the 18 of *June* 1639. and both Armies were disbanded within eight and forty hours, the King granted to the *Scots* a Nationall Synod to begin upon the firſt of *Auguſt* following,

lowing, and a Parliament to begin on the 24 day of the ſame Moneth, ſo that both ſides peaceably retreated home.

But when the King had been but a little time at *London*, his heart was again eſtranged from the *Scots*, and thoughts of peace; He commanded by proclamation, that Paper, which the *Scots* avowed to contain the true conditions of the pacification, to be diſavowed, and burnt by the hands of the Hangman; and the honeſt people of both Nations began to fear another War. The King about the beginning of *December* told the Lords of his Council that he intended to call a Parliament in *England*, to begin in *April* following, which being ſpread among the people, made them almoſt amazed, ſo ſtrange a thing was the name of a Parliament grown. But rational men did not like it, that it ſhould be deferred ſo long, and that preparations for a War with *Scotland* went on in the mean time. They were likewiſe troubled that the Earl of *Strafford*, Deputy of *Ireland*, a man of deep policy, but ſuſpected honeſty, one whom the King then uſed as a boſom Counſellour, was firſt to go into *Ireland* and call a Parliament in that Kingdom; beſides the King at that time had broken up the Parliament in *Scotland*; which the *Scots* complained of (the buſineſs of State depending) as a great breach of their Liberties, and againſt the Laws of that Kingdom.

Upon which they ſent ſome Lords into *England*, to entreat the King to grant them a redreſs

of

of ſuch injuries as they had received ſince the pacification. Which were, that their Parliament was broken off, before any buſineſs done; that *Edenburgh* Caſtle was Garriſoned with far more ſouldiers than were needful; that *Dun-Britton* Caſtle was Garriſoned with *Engliſh* ſouldiers; that the Scots, that traded in *England* and *Ireland*, were enforced to take new Oaths, contrary to their Covenant, and altogether contrary to the Articles of pacification. The King impriſoned thoſe Lords, ſending one of them, the Earl of *Lowden*, to the Tower, and commanded a Charge of Treaſon to be drawn againſt him, concerning a letter which the Scotiſh Covenanters had written to the King of *France* for his aſſiſtance, and *Lowden* had ſubſcribed; but the accuſation was frivolous, eaſily anſwered, and came to nothing, becauſe thoſe letters were not ſent at all, and beſides it was before the pacification, upon which an oblivion of all things was agreed; although the King at the beginning of the Engliſh Parliament produced that Letter againſt them, as a ground of his ſecond War; for now on the thirteenth of *April* the Parliament of *England* was begun, before which time the Earl of *Strafford* was returned out of *Ireland*, where he had held a Parliament, and gotten four Subſidies.

The King was very urgent with his Parliament to give money to enable him for a War againſt *Scotland*, and pay that Army and Officers which he had already raiſed; he demanded twelve Subſidies of them, for which he promiſed

miſed to releaſe Ship-money: he promiſed them that he would afterwards redreſs the Kingdoms grievances, but deſired money in the firſt place to go on with his deſigned War.

It was anſwered by many Members of the Houſe in ſeveral Speeches, that redreſs of Grievances was the chief end of Parliaments, and ſhould go before Subſidies: That the King asked a great ſumm of money for releaſing of that which he had no title to hold, but had taken illegally by power. That the people had no reaſon to pay for a War which they deſired not, but abhorred; a War not for their good, but their own ruin; that nothing was ſo juſt as to puniſh the contrivers of that wicked War.

But ſo ſtrange was the obedience and complyance of that Parliament towards the King, that although the money which he asked was againſt themſelves, yet they took the Subſidies into conſideration; but while they were debating, the King, whatſoever his reaſons were, whether he thought it a delay or not, came into the Houſe on the fifth of *May*, and diſſolved the Parliament. The people were grieved in an extraordinary manner to ſee this Parliament ſo ſuddenly broken up, and as much to ſee the King break his word ſo immediately upon the diſſolution of it: for he proteſted in the Houſe at that time, that he would rule for the future as legally as if a Parliament were conſtantly ſitting: Yet nevertheleſs he impriſoned ſome Members the next day after, Mr. *Beloſis*, Sir *John Hotham* and Mr. *Crew*; he commad-

manded the Lord *Brooks* his Study, his Cabinet, and pockets to be ſearched for Letters. He commanded the Convocation of Divines to continue their ſitting, an unexampled thing, who by authority from him made Canons, and impoſed Oaths upon the people contrary to their Laws and Liberties.

The King to defray the charges of this War, beſides the Contribution of the Clergy, and Papiſts, iſſued out again Writs of Ship-money in a greater proportion than before, he ſeiſed the Bulloine in the Tower, and took up Commodities to be ſold again at an under rate; and conſulted about Coyning of braſs money, but that went not forward.

But the War went on; the Earl of *Strafford* commanding in chief, the Earl of *Northumberland* not being in health, who had been appointed General: but the Scots had not been backward, for having been debarred of their trade, and loſt their ſhips by ſeiſure, they entred into *England* with an Army, expreſſing their intentions in writing to the Engliſh, and bringing with them a Petition to the King.

But the King in this War found a greater want than that of money, which was the hearts of the ſouldiers, eſpecially the common ſouldiers, who could not be eaſily brought to engage againſt the Scots, as hating the cauſe; many of them mutinying againſt their Officers and Commanders; which might be one cauſe that the War proved not ſo bloudy and fatal as it was deſigned; ſome skirmiſhes,

skirmiſhes, but not very conſiderable happened at *Newburn*, and at *Dunſian* not far from *Berwick*,

Thus proceeded this unhappy buſineſs, until ſome Engliſh Peers, Earls, and Barons, about twenty, grieved at the diſhonour which *England* ſuffered by the unhappy actions of the King, made a Petition to him, declaring in ſome part their former ſufferings by illegal Government, the diſſolution of the laſt and other Parliaments, the miſerable condition of the Kingdom at preſent, the ſad conſequence of this wicked War; deſiring him to Summon a Parliament, within ſome convenient time, where the Kingdoms grievances may be redreſſed, this War compoſed, and the Authors of theſe wicked counſels puniſhed.

Upon this Petition the King cauſed all the Lords to meet at *York* on the 24. of *September*, and there told them his intention of calling a Parliament with all poſſible ſpeed: which was to begin on the 3. of *November*.

It was there alſo conſulted and debated how to end this War upon fair terms, and after ſome time ſpent between Lords choſen out of both Nations, the matter was compoſed according to theſe Articles.

1. A Truce or ceſſation of Arms was made for two months till the 16 of *December*.

2. That 850. li. a day ſhould be paid to the Scots during that Truce.

3. That if it were not paid, the Scots might

force it from the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Durham*.

4. That thoſe Counties ſhould be allowed the Scots for their Winter quarters.

5. No new preparations for War to be made.

6. That private Injures ſhould not break the Truce, ſo ſatisfaction were made upon complaint.

7. That Merchants might freely traffique in either Kingdoms, without letters of ſafe conduct; but Souldiers without leave might not paſs their limits.

Thus was the ſtate of things altered, and that War, which was intended for an inſlavement of both Nations, became the bond of concord between them, and the happy cauſe which neceſſitated the King to call a Parliament in *England*; whereby their juſt liberties might by the bleſſing of God be vindicated and more aſcertained for the future; Great was the expectation of this Engliſh Parliament, on which the hopes of the people were wholly fixed, as a certain cure of all their long ſufferings; to which they thought the King (having ſo much tranſgreſſed) could not deny any thing, or make the leaſt oppoſition.

That was the cauſe for which they extreamly loved the Scots, as the inſtruments of that happineſs to them, who by reſiſting the Kings intruſions upon themſelves, had enforced him to this viſible means of a cure for *England*, which made the K. more hate the Scots, as the ſtoppers

of

of his general design; which hatred he could not conceal in his first Speech that he made in this Parliament; in which, promising all favour and concurrence to any thing that might procure the happiness of *England*, and promising to put himself freely and wholly upon the love and affections of his English Subjects in this Parliament, he inveighed against the Scots as Rebels, and desired that by force of Arms they might be chased out of *England*; but the English Parliament was of another affection towards the Scots, as will appear more hereafter.

The Parliament shewed a great and wonderful respect to the King, and in many expressions gave him humble thanks for calling them together, without any reflection upon his Person for what had passed in former misgovernment; but since no cure could be made without searching wounds, and that grievances must be recited, they resolved so to name them, as to cast the envy of them upon evil Counsel, and still mention the King with all honour and reverence possible, as will appear to any that read the printed Speeches, which at the beginning of that Session were made in the House by men of Eminency.

Great was the business, and of various natures were the crimes which this Parliament were to examine, and find out Delinquents, whom so long a misgovernment had made so.

Many Committees were made by the House to ease them in this business; they began with

matters of Religion. Divers Miniſters who had been of good lives and converſations, conſcientious in their ways, and diligent in preaching, and had by the Biſhops and thoſe in authority been moleſted, deprived, or impriſoned for not conforming to ſome ceremonies which were impoſed on them, were now by the Parliament relieved, and recompenced for their ſufferings. Others on the contrary, that had been ſcandalous, either for looſe and wicked living, or elſe offenders in way of ſuperſtition (both which, to diſcountenance the Puritans, had been frequently preferred) were cenſured and removed.

The Earl of *Strafford*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was impeached of high Treaſon, and ſent priſoner to the Tower of *London*; and on the eighteenth day of *December*, *William Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* impeached of the ſame crime, was committed to the ſame cuſtody.

The next day after the Archbiſhop was impeached, Dr. *Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich* was accuſed of many miſdemeanours in matter of ſuperſtition in his Eccleſiaſtical Government; which tending to the detriment of the Civil State, he was alſo accuſed of Treaſon, and entred into a recogniſance of thirty thouſand pounds to appear, with three ſureties bound, each of them in obligations of ten thouſand pounds. Sir *Francis Windebank*, Principal Secretary of State, a man nearly in friendſhip with *Laud* the Archbiſhop, who was thought to be a means of his preferment, was about that time accuſed

accuſed of extraordinary connivence toward Popiſh Prieſts, or rather of favour to them; and that contrary to the Laws in force againſt them, he had bailed and releaſed a great number; a Committee was appointed to examine his offence, but he, conſcious of the crime objected, and fearing the conſequence, about the beginning of *December* fled in a diſguiſe, and went into *France*. Immediately after his flight, the Lord Keeper *Finch* was conſtrained to take the ſame courſe, and fled out of the Kingdom into *Holland*; the crimes objected againſt him were of a various nature.

The firſt committed when he was Speaker of Parliament in the Houſe of Commons in the fourth year of King *Charles*; which was, for that he diſobeyed the houſe, in refuſing to ſpeak when he was commanded by them.

2. The ſecond crime was for giving illegal and cruel judgments in the Foreſt buſineſs, when he was Lord chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.

3. The third was for threatning of ſome of the Judges at that time, to give their extrajudicial opinions for Ship-mony.

The laſt was for drawing an injurious Declaration, after the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament; for which offences he was Voted by the Houſe of Commons guilty of High Treaſon; a Charge drawn up againſt him, and carried up to the Lords upon the 14. of *January*, three weeks after his flight. Upon the 15. of *February* 1640. a Bill

for the Triennial Parliament was presented to the King, and by him signed; which Bill was in this nature, that the Lord Keeper, and Chancellor of the Dutchy, if the King did not at those times, should issue forth Writs every third year, for calling of the Parliament, and the Penalty of losing their places upon default, was imposed on them. For Signing of that Bill, thanks were given to the King at *White-hall* the same afternoon by both houses of Parliament.

By this time being the end of *December*, that Cessation of Arms which was spoken of before, between the *English* and Scotch Armies, was expired, and by the Parliament now renewed for a month longer; for the Parliament, although the King (as is said before) called them Rebels, and desired to have them driven out of *England*, had a better opinion of them, and at this time of renewing the Cessation, ordered that the Scots should be recompenced for all their charges and losses by that mischievous war which the King had raised against them, and within few days, after examination of those losses and charges, the Parliament ordered that the Scotch Ships, taken since that war, should be restored to them, and 4000. l. in money given them to rig those ships; it was further resolved by both Houses, that the full summ of 300000.li. should be given to them in these words, *Towards a supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland*; And that the Parliament would in due time take into consideration the manner of raising, and days of Payment;

for

for which, three daies after, the Scotch Commiſſioners, then reſident at *London*, gave thanks to the Parliament, not only for that great Sum of 300000. li. but for the ſtile of Brethren which ſo kindly they had uſed towards them.

The Parliament of *England*, as a further ſtrengthning of the Nations amity, ordained at that time, *That all Books, Libels and Proclamations againſt the Scots ſhould be called in; and a thanksgiving to God ſhould be in all Churches of* England *for that happy Peace.*

The payment of two Armies for ſo long a time was a great charge to the poor people of *England*; which they without any grudging or repining at the King, as cauſe of that great burden, in hope to gain him for the future, bore with exceeding patience; they willingly parted with ſix Subſidies, and were content with the taxation of Poll-money, a perſonal aſſeſſment of the whole Kingdom, wherein every Duke was aſſeſſed at 100. li. a Marquis at 80. li. Earls at 60. li. Viſcounts and Barons at 40. li. Knights of the Bath at 30. li. Other Kinghts at 20. li. Eſquires at 10. li. Men of 100. li. *per annum* at 5. every common head at ſix pence.

The King in *February* had declared to the Houſes his intention concerning a marriage for his eldeſt Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, who was then betwixt 9. and 10. years of age; the husband appointed for her, was the young Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, Son to *Henry* Prince of

Orange, a youth about ſixteen years of age; the matter was then in agitation, and fair Propoſitions made upon it to the King, by the Ambaſſadours of the States General: The Parliament were pleaſed with the marriage, and not long after the young Prince arrived in *England*, and was by the King and Queen, with all the Court joyfully received, and entertained at *London*. After convenient time ſpent in the *Engliſh* Court, he was upon the ſecond day of *May*, with great ſolemnity Married at *Whitehall* to the Princeſs *Mary*.

On the tenth day of *May Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, who had been committed to the Tower ſix months before, was beheaded. Of this man, of the crimes laid to his charge, as likewiſe of his Pompous and remarkable trial, we cannot but make ſome mention. About the end of *January* a charge was read againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of nine Articles; out of which by ſubdiviſion were branched many more, which (though too tedious to be verbally here ſet down) I ſhall deliver, by expreſſing the contents. He was accuſed for ruling *Ireland* and the North of *England* in an arbitrary way, againſt the Laws. For retaining the Kings revenue without account. For encreaſing and encouraging Popery. For maliciouſly ſtriving to ſtir up, and continue enmity betwixt *England* and *Scotland*; of which ſome particulars are expreſt. For labouring to ſubvert Parliaments, and incenſe the King againſt them. The Commiſſioners

of

of *Scotland*, then reſident at *London*, had a charge alſo againſt this Earl for matters done againſt their Nation; which were notwithſtanding implyed in the Parliaments Charge. To this Charge the Earl gave in his anſwer in the Houſe of Lords, where the King himſelf was preſent at the reading of it upon the 23. day of *February*, but his trial in *Weſtminſter* hall began on the 22. day of *March* following, and was a moſt memorable ſight. The Hall was ſcaffolded on both ſides, to contain the whole Houſe of Commons, ſitting there in a Committee; the Peers ſate all there; beſides the Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, and beſides other ſpectators and auditors, and a great number of the Lords of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord high Steward, and the Earl of *Lindſey* Lord high Conſtable; the King himſelf ſate privately in a cloſe Gallery every day, taking notes in writing of what paſſed in the Tryal. Fifteen days the Earl anſwered perſonally, from the 22. of *March*, with few days intermiſſion, till the 16. of *April*. Miſdemeanours in an high degree were proved againſt him, but that which the Earl laboured to maintain for himſelf, was, that Miſdemeanours, though never ſo many and great, could not make Treaſon, put together, unleſs ſome one of them in its own Nature had been Treaſon, for that was his Charge, which he ſtrove to avoid.

Yet many of thoſe particulars in his accuſation were put into his Bill of Attainder afterward; for

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Bill of Attainder was drawn up and read againſt him in the Houſe of Commons *April* 21. where he was Voted guilty of high Treaſon.

Mr. *Saint John* the Kings Sollicitour, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, on the 29. of *April*, for ſatisfaction of the Lords opened the Bill in *Weſtminſter* Hall, (where the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Bar, and the King preſent in his accuſtomed place) and made the Bill good by many precedent Statutes. Upon which the Lords, being ſomewhat ſatisfied, were afterwards more confirmed, when the Judges, in their Houſe, delivered their opinons concerning it; And Voted him guilty of high Treaſon alſo. But the King told the Lords, he was not ſatisfied in conſcience, to condemn him of High Treaſon; But acknowledged that his miſdemeanours were very great; until at laſt, wearied with Petitions for Juſtice, the King calling a Privy Council at *White-hall*, commanded the Judges to deliver their opinion before him there; and ſent for ſome Biſhops to reſolve him in ſcruple of conſcience. Which wrought ſo, that he granted a commiſſion to four Lords, to ſign that Bill for execution of the Earl of *Strafford*, which execution was done at the time and place before mentioned.

The death of this great Earl ſeemed to be the more violently ſought, and more haſtened, by reaſon of ſome Treaſons againſt the Parliament, which were at that time diſcovered; being partly in favour of him, contrived to prevent

vent his death by an eſcape out of the Tower.

For one part of this Treaſon was to that purpoſe. Souldiers were raiſed by Sir *John Sucklin*, and ſome others under pretence of ſervice in *Portugal*, to gratify the Embaſſador of that Kingdom; thoſe Souldiers the King himſelf (who was now found to be privy to all thoſe Treaſons againſt the Parliament) commanded Sir *William Belfore* the Lieutenant to admit into the Tower; but he perceiving it was a plot for the Earls eſcape, diſobeyed the Kings Command. Another part of this Treaſon, chief of all the reſt, was a deſign to bring up the Engliſh Army, which was in the North, and not yet disbanded; this Army they had dealt with to engage againſt the Parliament ſitting, and (as they alleged) to maintain the Kings Perogative, Epiſcopacy, and other things againſt the Parliament it ſelf; in this plot were *Henry Piercy*, brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Henry Jermin*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, Col. *Goring*, Col. *Wilmot*, Col. *Aſhburnham*, *Pollard*, *Sucklin*, and others: the Kings diſcourſes to Mr. *Piercy* concerning theſe things were diſcovered in a Letter of *Piercies* to his brother *Northumberland* out of *France*, which was read in the Houſe upon the 14. of *June* (for *Piercy*, *Jermin*, and *Sucklin* at the beginning of *May*, when this Treaſon was in ſome part detected, fled the day before they ſhould have been examined, and paſſed over into *France*) upon which reading *Wilmot*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Pollard*, three Members of the Houſe, mentioned in the

Letter,

Letter, as privy to the plot, were all committed: If the Earl of *Strafford* had escaped out of the Tower, he should have Commanded, in aid to this plot, that Irish Army, consisting of eight thousand, most of them Papists, which the King would not grant to have disbanded, when the Parliament on the 28. of *April* before had desired it of him; but told them he could not disband them for reasons best known to himself.

Colonel *Goring*, for some discoveries which he made, was not at all committed; but *Oneale*, an *Irish* Papist, that was deep in the plot, was apprehended and committed to the Tower, from whence he afterwards escaped.

The Parliament finding such disturbance in their business, and treasons against them, and not at all assured of the Kings reality; weighing besides the great charges of paying two Armies, for which money must be raised by Loan upon the publick Faith; moved the King to sign a Bill for continuation of this present Parliament; which was, that it should never be dissolved without the consent of both Houses.

That Bill so drawn up, the King signed on the 10. of *May*, the same day that he signed the Bill for *Straffords* execution.

This Bill was a thing, that former Ages had not seen the like of, and therefore extremely was the Kings Grace magnified by those that flattered, but much condemned by others, who hated Parliaments and Reformation, complaining that the King had too far put the staff out of his own hands.

hands. But many men who ſaw the neceſſity of ſuch a thing, without which no money upon the publick Faith could be borrowed, did not at all wonder at it, ſaying, That as no King ever granted the like before, ſo no King had ever before made ſo great a neceſſity to require it; but ſome men were of opinion that it was not of ſecurity enough to make the Kingdom happy, unleſs the King were good; for if he were ill affected, he had power enough ſtill to hinder, and retard them in any proceeding for the good and ſettlement of the Common-wealth; and ſo by time and delayes lay a greater *Odium* upon the Parliament, for not ſatisfying the peoples deſires, than if they had not had that ſeeming power to have done it: Which proved in the concluſion too true, when the King by ſuch protraction of buſineſs, not at all concurring with them in the main, had raiſed a party to himſelf againſt them, to cut aſunder that Knot by the Sword, which by Law he could not unty.

The Parliament after this, began with eaſing of the Kingdoms Grievances; and becauſe the charge of two Armies lay upon them, and every day was conſiderable, till they were disbanded, that was the firſt thing intended; Towards which a great quantity of plate was appointed, with more than ordinary haſt, to be melted and coined.

And for making up the ſum, that Bill of Poll-money was to be ſigned, which was tendred to

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the King, and two other Bills with it; one for putting down the high-commiſſion Court, and the other for putting down the Star-chamber.

The King ſigned only that Bill of Poll-money, and took time to conſider of the other two; but hearing how ill it was taken at his hands, what murmurings there were in the City; and thinking it not now ſeaſonable to diſtaſt them much, three dayes after he came and paſſed thoſe other two Bills for putting down the high Commiſſion Court, and Star-Chamber.

The Queen Mother of *France*, about that time took her leave of the King, and paſſed over the *S*eas into *Holland*, the people deſiring to be eaſed of that charge; for the King had kept her for the ſpace of three years in *England* at the allowance of 100. li. a day.

The Parliament proceeded then againſt the delinquent Judges about Ship-money; and Charges were drawn up, and read againſt them in the Houſe of Commons: for in *December* before, when the debate had been concerning Ship-money, and the offence of thoſe Judges, who had given their extrajudicial opinions for it, was examined, upon which the Lord Keeper *Finch* fled; the thing was condemned as moſt illegal. Three Judges had been honeſt, Judge *Crook*, *Hutton*, and Baron *Denham*; the other were examined by ſixteen Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were appointed to preſent thoſe particular Charges againſt every Judge; who were, Judge *Bramſton*, Baron *Trever*, Baron *Weſton*, Baron *Davenport*, and

and Judge *Crawley*, for Judge *Barclay* was charged with high Treaſon.

Thoſe charges were now brought in about the beginning of *Auguſt*, but little was afterwards done againſt any of them, or almoſt any other offender; the King had deſigned a journey into *Scotland*, and would go, though the Houſes earneſtly entreated his ſtay for a while longer, becauſe the Kingdoms buſineſs required his preſence: the King alledged that the affairs of *Scotland* did neceſſarily require his preſence; and further told them that he would paſs any good Bill, which they had for him, before he went, which he accordingly did, and ſigned a Commiſſion for paſſing of Bills in his abſence; the Commiſſioners were the Lord-Keeper *Littleton*, the Lord Privy-Seal Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Lord great Chamberlain Earl of *Lindſey*, the Marqueſs of *Harford*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Bath*, Earl of *Dorſet*; the Earl of *Eſſex* alſo by a Bill, which the King then ſigned, was made General of all his Forces on this ſide *Trent*, with power to levy Armes in caſe of neceſſity.

But before the King went, the Earl of *Holland*, choſen both by him, and the Parliament, as General for that purpoſe, was gone into the North to diſband the Engliſh Army there.

The King departing from *London* the tenth of *Auguſt*, made haſte towards *Scotland*, and paſſed by the Armies as they were disbanding. Whether he did underhand attempt any thing with the

the Scotch Army (as a Scotch writer hath publiſhed) to engage them againſt the Parliament of *England*, with large promiſes of ſpoil, and offering Jewels of great value in pawn for performance of it, I leave as uncertain, for the reader to Judge, by what afterwards fell out. But if he did, it was a matter of great falſehood, having as yet declared no enmity againſt the Engliſh Parliament. But what the Kings deſign was of going into *Scotland*, was not underſtood in *England*. The ſame Author ſaies, it was to make ſure thoſe Noblemen of that Kingdom, whom he doubted of, as not willing to ſerve his turn againſt *England*. And true it is, that about *September*, Letters came from *Scotland* to the ſtanding Committee at *Weſtminſter* (for the two Houſes had rejourned themſelves from the eighth of *September*, till the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a ſtanding Committee of fifty members during that time) that a Treaſonable Plot was diſcovered there againſt the lives of ſome of the greateſt Peers in the Kingdom; upon which the ſtanding Committee fearing ſome miſchief from the ſame ſpring, placed ſtrong guards in divers parts of the City of *London*.

However the miſchiefs might fall out by chance, or by deſign, the Kings journy into *Scotland* was ſure to hinder the Engliſh buſineſs, and to retard the cure of all their Grievances; which was little leſs than a plain deſtruction. For after the tenth of *Auguſt*, the day of his depar-

ture,

ture, little was done in the Parliament until the receſs.

On the 23. of *October*, whilſt the King remained in *Scotland*, broke forth that curſed conſpiracy of the Iriſh Rebels, and the inhumane butchery of Proteſtants through the whole Iſland, more tragical than any effect of a calamitous War; in which was put in execution whatſoever could be imagined from the licentious cruelty of a barbarous people, ſo long kept under the Engliſh yoke, or what ever the dire dictates of ſuperſtition, or wicked exhortations of Prieſts could infuſe into them. It was wonderful that ſo deviliſh a deſign could ſo long be kept cloſe; whereby 200000. Proteſtants in two months ſpace were murthered, many by exquiſite torments, and many more deſpoiled of all their worldly fortunes.

This deviliſh deſign was to be put in execution on the 23. of *October*; upon which day not only the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Kingdoms chief Magazin, and a ſtorehouſe of ten thouſand Arms at that time: but all other Forts and Magazins in that Kingdom were to be ſurprized; and all the Engliſh or Proteſtants, that joyned not with them, to be murdered.

The ſeizure of *Dublin* Caſtle (to which purpoſe many of the chief Rebels came to the City the day before) was prevented by timely diſcovery of the plot to the two Lords Juſtices, by one *Owen O Conally*, a ſervant to Sir *John Clotworthy*; which diſcovery was but the very

night before that fatal day, and the occasion of it very accidental (or rather a strange providence of God) by *Mac-Mahons* unadvised trusting this *Owen* with some relations concerning it at a Tavern.

Upon which discovery *Mac-Mahon*, and the Lord *Maguire* were presently apprehended by the Lords Justices, and many Conspirators of great note escaped that night out of *Dublin*. So was *Dublin* saved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the General; for the conspirators were up at the day in all Counties round about, and poor English Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Burlace* taking those Armes which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could on a suddain to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*. Money was wanting, and no supplies neater than *England*.

Owen O Conally, the first discoverer of the plot, brought the first letters to *London*; upon receipt of which, they rewarded *Owen* with a gift of 500. li. and an annuity of two hundred pounds *per annum*; and presently both Houses of Parliament met at a conference; and the house of Commons

Commons forthwith reſolved into a Committee, to conſider of *Irelands* relief, and alſo to provide for the ſafety of *England*, for diſtractions began then to appear in *England*; the Parliament every day conſidered of *Irelands* relief, and preſently ordered ſupplies of money to be borrowed of the City of *London*, Victuals, and Ammunition for that purpoſe. But all relief could be but ſlow in ſuch a ſuddain diſeaſe. For the Rebellion encreaſed, and ſpread through all the Kingdom; and many Papiſts and ill-affected fled from *Dublin* into the Country to joyn with the Rebels, whileſt the City in their rooms, was daily filled with poor ſpoiled Proteſtants, who came naked, and famiſhed thither, many of them being paſt relief, and there periſhed in the City. It were an endleſs thing to relate the pitiful condition of thoſe woful people, and what ſad ſtories they there told concerning the bloody rage of thoſe inhumane Iriſh Rebels, and ſeveral tortures by which the unhappy Engliſh were brought to their ends.

But the Lords of the Council, and Lords Juſtices in a ſhort time, with thoſe Armes of *Dublin*, had armed many well affected Gentlemen, and ſent many active Commanders out of the City to defend places near, againſt the approach of the Rebels. About the middle of *Novem.* were in Arms Sir *Charles Coot*, Sir *H. Tichburn*, the L. *Lambert*, Sir *Tho. Luccas*, Cap. *Armſtrong*, Cap. *Yarner*; and the E. of *Ormond* came to *Dublin* with an 100. Horſe well armed. At which time the Parl. of *England*, till

greater ſumms could be raiſed, ſent them over, as a preſent comfort, twenty thouſand pounds. But it was a long time before they could ſend over any forces to the relief of that bleeding Kingdom; the firſt was a Regiment Commanded by Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived on the laſt of *December*, 1641.

While *Ireland* was thus miſerably diſtreſſed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England*, and was entertained by the City of *London* with moſt pompous ſolemnity; the whole multitude of Citizens diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Companies, in ſuch coſtly Equipage as never before was known, with Horſe and Arms met the King, and guarded him through the whole City to his Palace at *Whitehall*. Some condemned that coſtly entertainment of the City at ſuch a ſad time; others hoped it might gain the Kings dubious affection to his people; but it wrought a contrary effect in the King; who began now to think he could never loſe the love of the City, whatſoever he did, and was flattered by ſome, with a hope that the City would aſſiſt him in curbing of the Parliament it ſelf; he grew therefore more diſdainful toward the Parliament, and to endear the City, invited divers of the chief to *Hampton* Court, where he feaſted them, and Knighted ſome.

But the honeſt Citizens perceiving that no good uſe was made of their dutiful expreſſions toward the King; but that ſome bad people did openly ſay that the City were weary of the Parlia-

Parliament, and would joyn with the King againſt it; they framed a Petition to the Parliament, wherein the contrary is profeſſed; and that they would live and die with the Parliament for the good of the Commonwealth.

While the King remained at *Hampton* Court, the Houſe of Commons preſented him with a Remonſtrance, wherein the grievances of the Kingdom are expreſſed; but no fault laid upon himſelf in plain words, but a malignant party (as they call them) and evil counſellours.

Irelands calamities ſeemed to be quite forgotten, or rather that thoſe inhumane Rebels were countenanced; every body wondering that the King would not proclaim them Rebels; and ſome honeſt Lords adviſing the King to proclaim them ſpeedily, that a better courſe might be taken againſt them; they deſired him to waſh off that foul ſtain from himſelf, by proceeding ſeverely againſt thoſe wicked villains; who reported every where that they had authority from him to ſeize upon the holds of the Engliſh Proteſtants; that they were the Queens ſouldiers, and riſe to maintain the Kings prerogative againſt the Puritan Parliament in *England*; they therefore adviſed him by all means to purge himſelf of that crime; than which, a greater on earth could not be.

But ſo ſtrangely were things carried, that although the Rebellion brake out upon the twenty third of *October*, the King did not proclaim them

Rebels till the first of *January*; and then gave a strict command, that no more than forty Copies of that Proclamation should be Printed, and that none of them should be published, till his Majesties pleasure were further signified, so that a few only could take notice of it, which made all men extreamly wonder, when they observed the late contrary proceedings against the Scots; who were in a very quick and sharp manner proclaimed, and those Proclamations forthwith dispersed with as much diligence as might be thorow all the Kingdom.

But before this Proclamation came out, the Parliament, being somewhat troubled with some speeches, of which they had been informed, as if a plot were contrived against them, desired the King to allow them a Guard for security of their persons, and that the Earl of *Essex*, then Lord *Chamberlain* of his Majesties Houshold, might be Commander of it. But the King denied them a Guard, giving them many fair promises of his care for their safety; and that he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

Three daies after the Proclamation against those Irish Rebels, being the fourth of *January*, the King, attended with about three hundred Armed Gentlemen, came to *Westminster*, and entring in Person into the House of Commons, and seating himself in the Speakers chair demanded five Members of that House to be delivered to him, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hamden*, and Mr. *Strode*. Those

Thoſe five members had by command of the Houſe upon information of the Kings intent, abſented themſelves. Which the King finding, went away after a ſhort ſpeech delivered concerning them, that he intended a fair trial againſt them, and that he was, and would be as careful to maintain the priviledges of Parliament, as ever any King of *England* was. He had the day before demanded them by his Atturney, Sir *Edward Herbert*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, pretending a Charge of high Treaſon againſt them, and with them, againſt the Lord *Mandevile*, a Member of the Houſe of Lords. But the Parliament did not think fit to let their perſons go. Whereupon the King ſent and ſealed up the Cloſets and Trunks of thoſe five Members; he made alſo a Proclamation againſt them, for their apprehending & impriſonment, as men guilty of high Treaſon.

This great breach of Parliament Priviledge happened in a ſtrange time, to divert the Kingdom from relieving of *Ireland*, and ſo the people every where complained; and called to mind what they had heard by ſome of thoſe poor Proteſtants, who fled out of *Ireland*; who reported that thoſe Iriſh Rebels did confidently ſay, it was for no purpoſe to fly for ſafety into *England*, for that Kingdom would be as much diſtreſſed as theirs, and that the King intended to forſake his Parliament in *England*, and War againſt it; which when he did, they would come over having done their work in *Ireland*, and help the K. againſt the Engliſh Parliament. Thoſe things were ſadly then remembred.

On this occaſion the Parliament voted that *Theſe things were an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, a great ſcandal to the King and his Government, a ſeditious act, manifeſtly tending to the ſubverſion of the peace, and an injury, and diſhonor to the ſaid Members, there being no legal charge or accuſation againſt them. And that there could be no vindication of thoſe priviledges, unleſs his Majeſty would diſcover the names of thoſe who adviſed him to ſuch unlawful courſes.* They therefore deſired him to ſatisfy their legal deſire in that, to let them know their informers (which by two Statutes then in force, upon ſuch occaſions the King is bound to do) but he refuſed to grant their requeſt. Upon which they committed his Atturney, Sir *Edward Herbert*, having been examined about it, but confeſſing nothing.

The King next day after this entring into the Houſe of Commons, went through the City of *London*; where the Citizens at many places, flocking about his Coach, humbly entreated him to agree with his Parliament, and not to break the priviledges thereof. To which purpoſe they afterwards preſented him with a Petition, beſeeching him for poor *Irelands* ſake, to accord with his Parliament, to allow them a Guard and do right to the accuſed Members; with other things of that nature expreſſed at large in that Petition. The people about that time, diſcontented with the Kings actions, and thoſe obſtructions which they found in all buſineſſes of Parliament, uſed to flock to *Weſtminſter* in great throngs,

throngs, though unarmed, by way of Petitioning, and many times to utter rude ſpeeches againſt ſome Lords, whom they conceived to be evil adviſers of the King; which however it were meant, produced ill conſequence to the Common-wealth, and did not ſo much move the King to be ſenſible of his grieving the people, as arm him with an excuſe for leaving the Parliament and City, for fear of what might inſue upon ſuch tumultuous concourſe of men.

Upon this ground twelve Biſhops at that time abſenting themſelves entred a Proteſtation againſt all Laws, Votes and Orders, as null, which in their abſence ſhould paſs; by reaſon, that they durſt not, for fear of their lives, come to perform their duties in the Houſe, having been rudely menaced, and affronted. Whereupon it was agreed both by the Lords and Commons that this Proteſtation of the Biſhops was of dangerous conſequence, and deeply intrenched upon the priviledge, and Being of Parliaments. They were therefore accuſed of high Treaſon, apprehended, and committed priſoners to the Tower.

Thus was the Parliament daily troubled with ill work, whereby the relief of *Ireland* was hindered; but other particular hinderances of *Irelands* relief then fell out, which we ſhall expreſs briefly.

When the Parliament were conſidering of forces to be ſent out of *Scotland*, being a ſhort cut, many things happened to divert, or delay it. There was a Bill for preſſing of Souldiers to

that

that purpoſe depending in the Houſe of Peers, which the King took exceptions at, as to the putting of it into that way; being, as he ſaid, a diminution of his prerogative: but becauſe he deſired *Ireland* might be relieved, he was content that the Bill ſhould paſs for that time with a *Salvo Jure* both to King and people. This ſpeech offended the Parliament; who declared in a Petition, that the King by taking notice of the debate in the Houſe of Lords concerning the Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental priviledge of Parliament, which he ought not to do concerning any Bill, till it be preſented to him in due courſe of Parliament; for every Member hath free liberty of ſpeech in propounding, or debating, and the King ought not to be diſpleaſed at him for ſuch opinions or propoſitions. For this great breach of priviledge they deſired reparation, and that the King would make known who they were by whoſe evil Counſel he had done it, that they might receive condign puniſhment.

It was then alſo deſired, that an Army of Scots ſhould be ſent into *Ireland* firſt; but the Scotch Commiſſioners anſwered that they had no Commiſſion from their State to ſend over any leſs number thither than ten thouſand. The Houſe of Commons conſented out of Zeal to the cauſe; and Voted the ſending over of ten thouſand Scots. But the Lords would not yield unto it; unleſs the Houſe of Commons would give aſſurance that ten thouſand Engliſh ſhould be ſent over

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as ſpeedily, which was impoſſible to be done. And no other reaſon given for this oppoſition, but that it was diſhonourable for *England*, that *Ireland* ſhould be reduced by the Scots; and that the Scots would make too great an advantage by it. But this reaſon was not thought by honeſt men of weight enough to hinder ſo good a work; when the cauſe of Religon and the deplorable eſtate of ſo many thouſand poor Chriſtians groaned for aſſiſtance.

A third obſtruction of *Irelands* relief was thus; two thouſand five hundred Scots were in a readineſs to be tranſported into the North of *Ireland*. Concerning the condition of their going, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* delivered to the Engliſh Parliament eight propoſitions; Both Houſes conſented to all the propoſitions, but the King excepted againſt one of thoſe propoſitions; which was the third in order. *That the Scots would have the keeping of the Town and Caſtle of Carrickfergus, with power to remain there, or enlarge their Quarters at diſcretion, and if any Regiments or Troops in that Province ſhould join with them, that they receive orders from the chief Commanders of the Scotch Forces.*

This Article the King ſaid that he doubted might be to the damage of *England*; and therefore would have the Parliament think upon it again. Nevertheleſs if they would have it ſo, he would confer with the Scotch Commiſſioners about it.

The Scots anſwered the King; that they were

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ſorry that his Majeſty, being their native King, ſhould ſhew leſs truſt in them, than their Neighbour Nation had freely done; and ſhould think that Article too much for them, which both Houſes of Parliament were pleaſed with; the King at laſt (though too much time were loſt) was content to admit of that Article, as the Parliament had done.

But that way, which the Parliament thought moſt powerful to reduce *Ireland* was by adventuring for proportions of land there, to be ſhared among the Engliſh Adventurers, according to thoſe ſumms of money, which they would disburſe or ſubſcribe. That ſo whoſoever in perſon, or purſe helped towards the conqueſt of thoſe bloody Rebels, might be recompenced, if the work were done. Propoſitions were framed in Parliament to that purpoſe. The King confirmed theſe propoſitions, though at firſt he laughed at them, & was heard to ſay, that they were like to him, who ſold the Bears skin before the Bear was killed.

At laſt an Act was made for enabling the Parliament with power to carry on that war untill *Ireland* ſhould be declared wholly ſubdued; and that no peace, or ceſſation of Arms ſhould be ever made with the Rebels, unleſs both Houſes of Parliament conſented to it. The King then offered to go in perſon over into *Ireland*. But the Parliament thought it was not fit to hazard the Kings perſon in ſuch an expedition.

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The King was then at *Hampton* Court, diſtaſted at the City, and pretending the reaſons of his abſence to be fear of Tumults; for beſides what was before ſpoken of the numbers which flocked to petition at *Weſtminſter*, the King was advertiſed, that the day after he retired to *Hampton* (which was about a week after his going to the houſe of Commons) divers Citizens, with Boats, & Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Weſtminſter*, with many promiſes not to forſake the Parliament.

From thence upon the twentieth of *January* the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, deſiring them, that ſeeing particular grievances were ſo many, as that it would be tedious to preſent them by themſelves, they would digeſt them into one Body; that ſo a clear judgement might be made upon them; *And then they ſhould ſee how ready he would be to equal or exceeed the greateſt examples of moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and favour to the People.*

The Parliament gave him thanks, and reſolved ſpeedily to conſider of it; but deſired the King, in the mean time, to give them a ſure ground of ſecurity, (while they diſcharged their Truſt) by putting the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kindom into ſuch hands, as the Parliament might truſt, and recommend to him. The King refuſed to grant that Petition; alledging that he would reſerve to himſelf the diſpoſal of all thoſe places, as a principal, and inſeparable Flower of his Crown;

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nevertheleſs he promiſed to entruſt none but faithful Perſons in any of thoſe places. Many reaſons were ſhewed on both ſides, and many Petitions and anſwers paſſed, they ſtill preſſing for this grant of the *Militia*, and the King ſtill denying it.

The King then reſiding at *Hampton* Court, had found out a new way to weaken the Parliament in their number, by ſending for ſome, who were his ſervants, to leave their ſitting in the Houſe to attend him. Eſpecially he aimed at the Earl of *Eſſex*, his Lord *Chamberlain*, and the Earl of *Holland*, Groom of the Stole; both whom he ſent for; but they choſe rather to obey his Parliament Writ, than his private Command; and continued ſitting. For which he ſent a Meſſenger to demand the Staff of the one, and the Key of the other, being the Enſigns of their offices, which they willingly reſigned.

The Lord *George Digby* about that time had written a Letter to the Queen from *Middleborough* in *Zealand* (whither he had fled from *England*, when the Lords in Parliament had ſent for him upon ſome Miſdemeanours, and if he appeared not in twenty days, had proclaimed him Traitor) in which he intimates, that if the King will declare himſelf, and retire to a ſafe place, he ſhould be able to wait upon him from thence as well as from any part of *England*, over and above the ſervice which he might do for him there in the mean time. This Letter was intercepted, and brought to the Parlament; whereby they began to

underſtand that the King had ſome deſign in hand againſt them; which they more plainly afterwards diſcerned.

The King and Queen, about the middle of *February*, with their eldeſt daughter *Mary*, Princeſs of *Orange*, went to *Canterbury*. From which place (while ſome of the Members of both Houſes went between *London* and that City upon divers buſineſſes) the King ſigned the Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament. From *Canterbury* they went to *Dover*. From whence the Queen paſſed into *Holland*, under pretext of keeping her daughter Company to her husband. But ſhe carried with her the Crown Jewels of *England*, and pawned them there; whereby ſhe bought Arms for that War which enſued, and was it ſeems then deſigned by the King againſt the Parliament.

After her departure, the King taking the Prince and Duke of *York* with him, went to *Theobalds*; there he received a Petition from the Parliament on the firſt of *March*, one thouſand ſix hundred forty one, wherein they deſired him to grant the Militia, to abide near *London*, and not to carry the Prince away. All which he denied; and went immediately to *New-Market*.

There he was preſented with a Declaration drawn by both Houſes. The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, with ſome Commoners, carried it; In which they repeat the old Grievances; his wicked War againſt *Scotland*, the *Iriſh* Rebellion raiſed here by many preſumptions, his at-

attempt of engaging the *Engliſh* Army againſt the Parliament, his entring the Houſe of Commons, with the like; and that his fear to reſide near *London* is without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Commonwealth, to hinder the relief of *Ireland*, and encourage the ill-affected party in this Kingdom; to which the King anſwered with great indignation, and afterwards anſwered it by a longdeclaration of his own, endeavouring to clear himſelf of ſome things, and extenuate, or excuſe others; accuſing them for coining to themſelves needleſs fears and jealouſies; and ſo theſe Commiſſioners departed from *Theobalds* (while the Parliament ſuffered him, without any real hindrance) to the Peoples great grief, he paſſed to the City of *York*.

The Parliament in the mean time ſit, and Vote only againſt the Kings evil Counſel, and make three Votes.

1. *That the Kings abſence ſo far remote from his Parliament, is not only an obſtruction, but may be a deſtruction to the affairs in* Ireland.

2. *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only queſtioned, and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament.*

3. *That they which adviſed the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected as favourers of the Rebellion in* Ireland.

From

of the chief Commanders ſtaid with them, expecting the preſence of the General himſelf. The Lord General *Eſſex*, on the ninth of *September* taking his leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, went towards *Northampton*, and was waited on by the trained Bands and a great number of armed Gentlemen from *Eſſex* Houſe to the end of the City with great ſolemnity. The Parliament ſent a Petition to the General at *Northampton*, to be by him preſented to the King in a ſafe and honourable way; the effect of which was, humbly to entreat his Majeſty to withdraw his preſence from thoſe wicked perſons about him, and not to mix his danger with theirs; but that he would return to his Parliament, and ſuch like things.

The King intending to ſeize upon *Worceſter*, ſent Prince *Rupert* thither with ſome horſe, which *Eſſex* fearing, to prevent the King, commanded part of his forces to march thither ſpeedily, himſelf following with his Army.

Some skirmiſhes happened between that party of Parliamentarians and Prince *Rupert*, before the coming of General *Eſſex*, but Prince *Rupert*, when the forerunners of *Eſſex* his Army were in ſight, with great ſpeed fled out of *Worceſter*. General *Eſſex*, leaving a Gariſon at *Northampton*, marched to *Coventry*; which Town he alſo Gariſoned, as likewiſe *Warwick*, and marched from thence with his main Army to *Worceſter*, where he made ſome ſtay.

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The King at that time with a ſmall body of Horſe went to *Shrewsbury*, to which place he cauſed a Mint to be brought, and Coined his Plate; for many Gentlemen about that time had, beſides money and arms, brought Plate in unto him. At *Shrewsbury* he grew wonderful in ſtrength, ſo that within three weeks after his coming thither, from a ſmall inconſiderable body of Horſe he was grown into an Army conſiſting of about ſix thouſand foot, and three thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Dragoneirs.

From *Shrewsbury* the King marched along by *Coventry*, and came to *Southam*; being but a ſmall diſtance from the Lord General *Eſſex* his Army: from whence he ſtruck a terror (though ſo far off) into the City of *London* it ſelf; for he was then nearer to *London* by a days march than the General was; inſomuch as that *London* made great proviſions to Guard it ſelf, and the Parliament ſent twelve Companies to poſſeſs and Guard *Windſor* Caſtle. The General thought it his chief work to follow the Kings Army, for fear he ſhould march toward *London*, and by reaſon of that haſte, left behind him a great part of his forces, and great Artillery.

The King perceiving that, and loth to loſe ſo good an advantage of fighting (before the Parliament Forces were conjoyned) turnedback againſt General *Eſſex*; who was alſo reſolved to give Battel.

From *York* the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, on the eighth of *April* 1642. that he would go in perſon over to *Ireland* againſt thoſe bloody Rebels; and therefore intended to raiſe by his Commiſſion near *Weſtcheſter* a Guard for his Perſon (when he ſhould come into *Ireland*) of 2000 foot, and 200 horſe, whom he would arm from his Magazine at *Hull*.

But the Parliament ſuſpecting, as well by my Lord *Digby* his intercepted Letter, as by other preſumptions, that the Kings chief end of going Northward, was to ſeize the Magazine of *Hull*, and arm himſelf from thence againſt them; ſent a Petition to him, for leave to remove that Magazine to the Tower of *London*; and accordingly had ſent Sir *John Hotham* thither, who prevented the King, and kept out the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, whom the King had ſent thither alſo for the ſame purpoſe; at which action of theirs the King was much moved.

On the three and twentieth day of *April* 1642. the King, attended by ſome Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, came at the Walls of *Hull*, and demanded entrance; but the Gates were ſhut, and Sir *John Hotham* appeared upon the Wall, and kneeling there, entreated the King not to command that, which he, without breach of Truſt, could not obey; in concluſion, the King not getting entrance, proclaimed *Hotham* Traitor; and ſent a complaining Meſſage to the Parliament concerning that affront.

The Parliament laboured to appeaſe him, but juſtified *Hothams* act; and declared, that proclaiming Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, without due proceſs of Law, was againſt the liberty of the ſubject, and Laws of the Land. Upon this buſineſs of *Hull* paſſed in a ſhort time many Declarations on both ſides, with Arguments drawn from the Statutes and Laws of *England*; and many commands contrary to each other; the Parliament authorizing Sir *John Hotham* to iſſue out Warrants to the Conſtables and other officers, to come with Arms to the defence of *Hull*: and the King on the other ſide forbidding any ſuch Warrants, or Training, without authority under his hand.

The King, while the Parliament let him alone in the North, daily ſummoned the Gentry of thoſe Counties to attend him at *York*, and daily gained ſome to his party, whoſe proceedings there in every particular are too tedious for this relation; but his frequent orations to them were in ſubſtance, That he was in danger of the Parliament, and deſired a Guard for his perſon; and when the King made proclamation for all Gentlemen and others to attend him in arms as a Guard; the Parliament at *London* only declared that ſuch Arming of men to the diſturbance of the Kingdoms Peace, was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms; Thus did Proclamations, and Declarations for a long time encounter each other.

But nothing made the Kingdom fear a War, until

until that great defection of Parliament Members, who left their Seats, and went to the King at *York*. Which happened about the end of *April*, and continued a great part of *May* following; in which ſpace a great number of the Lords, ſome ſent for by the King, others for their own diſcontents, fears, or Ambition, quitted their Seats in Parliament, and went to him one after another. The Lords that left the Parliament were theſe, Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmerland*, *Barkſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*, the Lords *Matrevers*, *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, *Rich*, *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandois*, *Falconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savill*, *Coventry*, *Mohun*, *Dunſmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray* of *Ruthen*, *Capell*. Within that time alſo many of the Houſe of Commons did ſo far break their Truſt, as to forſake their Seats in Parliament, and go to the King.

This revolt of ſo many Members of both Houſes was generally looked upon, as a thing of moſt ſad conſequence, and likely to produce no effects but lamentable and wicked; as to nouriſh and encreaſe the Kings diſaffection to Parliaments; to encourage his diſtance from it, and attempts againſt it; to ſecure the Iriſh Rebels, to ſubvert the dignity of that high Court, and make the King, by this diminution of their number (as he did in his following Declarations) call them

a faction, a pretended Parliament, and such like names.

The Parliament continued still Petitioning the King; and on the twentieth of *May* sent to entreat him, that he would disband his forces, and rely for his security (as his Predecessours had done) upon the Laws, and affections of his people; contenting himself with his ordinary Guards; declaring, that else they held themselves bound in duty to God, and the Trust reposed in them by the people, and by the fundametal Laws to employ their utmost care and power for securing the Parliament, and preserving the Kingdoms Peace. Upon which these Votes were made in Parliament.

That it appears that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intends to make a War against the Parliament, who in all their Consultations and actions have proposed no other end to themselves, but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and Loialty to his Person.

It was likewise resolved upon the question, that *Whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the dissolution of this Government.* As also, *That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged in two Acts of Parliament,* 11 Richard 2. *and* 1 Henry 4. *and that such Persons ought to suffer as Traitors.*

But those Lords who had forsaken the Parliament

liament, continued ſtill with the King in the North; wherefore the Parliament, by an Order of the thirtieth of *May*, ſummoned nine of them, who firſt had gone away, to appear at *Weſtminſter*; *viz.* the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Dover*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords *Howard* of *Charleton*, *Rich*, *Grey* of *Ruthen*, *Coventry*, and *Capel*. But they refuſed to come away, returning an anſwer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a ſlighting and ſcornful Letter; upon which a Vote was paſſed againſt them in the Houſe of Commons, and preſented on the 15. of *June* to the Lords by Maſter *Hollis*, with an Oration concerning the importance of the buſineſs.

Upon the impeachment of the nine Lords the Houſe of Peers about a Month after, being in their Robes, entred into debate of the ſaid Impeachment; and after divers Speeches made, ſetting forth the greatneſs of their offence, they were Cenſured, 1. Never to ſit more as Members of that Houſe. 2. To be incapable of the benefit or Priviledge of Parliament. 3. To ſuffer impriſonment during their pleaſure. After which Cenſure, it was concluded, that the ſaid Lords ſhould be demanded in the behalf of both Houſes of Parliament, to ſubmit to the ſaid Cenſure.

After this, another wound was given to the Parliament, encouraging the King in his deſigns; the Great Seal of *England* was carryed away from the Parliament at *London*, to the King

at *York*, by the Lord Keeper *Littleton*, a man that had continued ſome time, after the reſt were gone, firm in appearance, Voted with them, and gave his voice for ſetling of the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament.

But about the end of *June*, one Maſter *Eliot* a Courtier, was ſent cloſely from *York* to him; who having gotten privacy with the Lord Keeper, ſo far prevailed at laſt, that he got the great Seal into his hands, and rid away with it to the King at *York*.

The Lord Keeper *Littleton*, after ſome ſerious thoughts with himſelf, not being able to anſwer it to the Parliament, rode away himſelf next day to the King alſo. The reaſon which he gave to ſome friends of his afterwards for ſo parting with the Seal, was this, The King when he made him Lord Keeper gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That whenſoever the King ſhould ſend to him for the Great Seal, he ſhould forthwith deliver it. This Oath he ſaid, he could not diſpenſe with in conſcience, but was ſorry he had taken the Office with ſuch an Oath. The Seal was given him ſince this Parliament ſate; which made it appear what intentions the King even then had to the Parliament.

The King having now gotten the Great Seal, iſſued forth many Proclamations, and among other, one, That no man ſhould obey the Parliaments Warrants about ſetling the *Militia*; and they on the other ſide by Ordinances forbad any

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man to raiſe Arms by Warrant from the King, without the authority of Parliament.

The Parliament being then intent upon ſetling the *Militia* by Land, they took care alſo to ſeize the Navy into their hands, for ſecurity of the Kingdom againſt forreign invaſions. To that purpoſe the Earl of *Warwick*, a Nobleman of good experience in Sea affairs, and undoubted fidelity to his Countrey, was by an Ordinance of both Houſes choſen to be Lord Admiral. But the King had choſen Sir *John Penington* to that place in the room of the Earl of *Northumberland*; and ſent a Command to the Earl of *Warwick* to reſign the place to him. But the Earl choſe rather to obey the Ordinance of Parliament; and with great courage and Policy got the Fleet into his hands, though many of the Captains ſtood out againſt him, alledging that they had the Kings Command to obey Sir *John Penington*, but the Earl deprived them of their Commands, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Ships; taking ſhortly after another ſhip called the Lion, of great import, coming out of *Holland*, and laden with Gunpowder; which proved a great addition to his ſtrength.

All men at this time began to deſpair of the Kings return to his Parl. and therefore on the 10th of *June* was an order made in Parl. for bringing in money & plate, to raiſe Arms for the Cauſe; the publick faith for repaiment to them that brought it in, was engaged by the Parl. and intereſt of eight in the 100. Which was accordingly brought in in great abundance by well affected People; as alſo Horſes and Arms for that ſervice.

The King at that time received money, and Arms, with Ammunition out of *Holland* upon the pawning of the Crown Jewels which the Queen had carried over in *February* before. He then sent out his Commissions of Array to Arm the people, into all Counties; wherein he used the Parliaments own words, as in a Jeer of them. For the Parliament professed that their receiving of Plate and money, and levying of forces was, *To maintain the Protestant Religion, the Kings Person, dignity, and authority; the Laws of the Land, the peace of the Kingdom, and priviledge of Parliament.* The Kings words were the same, namely, *to maintain the Protestant Religion, his own Person and authority, the Laws, Kingdoms Peace, and priviledge of Parliament.* And whereas the Parliament in their Declarations, both then and afterward, used to say that they did arm against a malignant Party, by whom the Kings Person was in danger; he in his said the like, and that for the safety of his own Person and people, there was an inevitable necessity of putting the Kingdom into a posture of defence, using those very words in his Commission of Array, which they did in their Ordinance for the *Militia.* And invited people to bring Plate and money to him, in that language which the Parliament did; nor did it prove less effectual; for many Lords, Gentlemen, and others very freely brought in money and Plate, to serve the King, within a short space.

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In all this heat of Preparations, the King, before thoſe Lords that were with him in the North, made a ſolemn Proteſtation, as before God, that he would not engage them in any War againſt the Parliament, but only for his neceſſary defence; that his deſire was to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the liberties of the ſubject, and priviledge of Parliament. Upon which thoſe Lords made a ſolemn Proteſtation, as before God, and ſubſcribed their names to it, that they did believe the Kings intention to be as he ſaid; namely, that he had no purpoſe to levy War againſt the Parliament; and that he endeavoured only to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws, Liberties of the ſubject, and juſt priviledge of Parliament.

The King immediately after this took a progreſs about the Countries adjacent, and at divers places made ſpeeches to the Gentlemen, and inhabitants, full of gracious promiſes, and declaring his intentions to preſerve the peoples Liberties, and priviledge of Parliament; after which he returned to *York*; and having raiſed an Army of three thouſand foot, and one thouſand Horſe, went to *Beverly*, with an intention to beſiege *Hull*; making proclamation before-hand, that no man ſhould preſume to aſſiſt *Hull* againſt him, or bring any force thither. The Parliament, on the other ſide publiſhed a Declaration, for the preſervation and ſafety of the Kingdom, and of the Town of *Hull*, with aſſurance of ſatisfaction to all thoſe who ſuſtained any loſs by their ſervice

vice for ſafety of that Town, or by overflowing of water upon the grounds there. The King was within two hours march of *Hull*; when Sir *John Hotham*, calling a Council of War, by whom it was thought ſo fit, drowned the Country about *Hull*, drawing up the Sluce; giving the Owners time to remove their Cattel and goods, the Parliament being to ſatisfy their Damages upon the publick faith. Sir *John Meldrum*, an old Souldier, was aſſiſtant to *Hotham*; who ſallying bravely out of the Town with five hundred Townſmen, made the Kings party retreat to *Beverly*, ſome being ſlain, and taken in the Chaſe.

Within a ſhort time after, (when five hundred men ſent from *London* arrived at *Hull*) Sir *John Meldrum* made a fiercer Sally, and forced moſt of the leaguer to retire diſorderly, one and twenty of them being ſlain, and fifteen taken Priſoners; and following his good ſucceſs, came to *Aulby*, where the Kings Magazin of Arms, Ammunition, and Fireballs were kept in a Barn; all which he took, and fired the Barn; Upon which the K. calling a council of War, upon their advice broke up his ſiege before *Hull*. On the 12. of *July* the Parliament Voted that an Army ſhould be raiſed for the ſafety of the Kings Perſon, and defence of the Parliament. Of which the Earl of *Eſſex*, a man of eminent fidelity and worth, was by an unanimous conſent of both Houſes choſen General.

Some

Some Lords and Members of the Commons were ſent down into the Counties to ſettle the *Militia*, and raiſe forces for defence of ſeveral Towns and places. And divers Members of the Houſes Liſted themſelves in the Lord General *Eſſex* his Army; and took Commiſſions from him as Colonels.

But immediatly after this time, the Kings Commiſſions of Array were ſent down into every County (though often declared by the Parliament to be illegal) and were obeyed in many places more than the Parliaments Ordinances for the *Militia*; by reaſon that ſo many Lords and Gentlemen adhered to him now againſt the Parliament. But there were ſcarce any Counties free from contention, betwixt the Commiſſioners of the one, and the Ordinances of the other; which ſtrugled together, with great Nobility, and Gentry on both ſides; neither had the King'sProclamations nor the ParliamentsOrdinances obedience from all, only as far as the now drawing ſwords enforced it.

During theſe diviſions in ſeveral Counties; *London* it ſelf was not free; for the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Richard Gurney*, was by the Parliament committed Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, for moving ſedition in the Kingdom, by cauſing the Kings Commiſſion of Array (a thing declared illegal by both Houſes) to be Proclaimed in the City; and afterwards an additional impeachment was brought againſt him by theCommon Council of *London*, for divers breaches of his

Oath

Oath in that Office, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

After many days attendance concerning these accusations, on the twelfth day of *August* he received his censure at the House of Lords, which was, *That he should be turned out of his Majoralty*; *That he should never bear any office in the City, or Commonwealth*; *That he should be incapable of any honour or dignity to be conferred on him by the King*; *and Committed Prisoner to the Tower during the pleasure of both Houses.*

Many Proclamations about that time passed from the King, and Declarations from the Parliament, one from the King against the Earl of *Essex*, as a Rebel, and all that adhered unto him; and a Declaration from the Parliament, recounting all that the Kings evil Counsel (for so they called it) had done illegally against them; the Parliament likewise published what in particular had been done by his party against *Ireland*; and how that unhappy Kingdom had been of late robbed of many reliefs, of Cloaths, Victuals and Arm, which the Parliament had sent them, by the King and his party.

While these writings on both sides lasted; the King removed often to gather strength, and in several places made Speeches to the Countries, with many Protestations of his affection to the people. At last he came to *Nottingham*, where, about the middle of *August*, he set up his Standard Roial. Very few People came to it, nor had the K. at that time any considerable strength; nor

nor if the Parliament would then have ſeized upon his perſon, could he have kept himſelf out of their hands.

From *Nottingham* on the twenty fifth of that month he ſent a meſſage to the Parliament, by the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Culpeper*.

In that Meſſage he ſignifieth a deſire to compoſe the difference by a Treaty; that a certain number of Perſons ſent, and enabled by the Parliament, may treat in ſome indifferent place, with the like number authoriſed by him.

The Parliament anſwer, That until he put them in a condition to treat, that is, until he take down his Standard, and recal thoſe Proclamations, wherein he calleth (a things unheard of before) both Houſes of Parliament Traitors and Rebels, they cannot, by the fundamental priviledges of Parliament, or by the publick truſt repoſed in them, or with the general good of the Realm, admit of any ſuch Treaty.

The King denied that he advanced his Standard againſt the Parliament, or that he called them Rebels; but within few days, in his inſtructions to his Commiſſioners of Array, Marquels *Hartford*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, and the Lord *Strange*, he again called the Earl of *Eſſex* Rebel and Traitor.

Thus did they contend for ſome time by Declarations and Proclamations; which proved all fruitleſs, as to ſatisfying of the people; nor could this lamentable War be averted.

Prince

Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, the ſecond and third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, were now come into *England* the beginning of *September*, to offer their ſervice to the King their Uncle, whom he preſently put into commands. Prince *Rupert*, the Eldeſt and fiercer by nature, commanding a Body of Horſe, flew with great fury through divers Counties, raiſing men for the Kings ſervice in a rigorous way, committing outrages to thoſe who favoured the Parliament; upon which the Houſes fell into a debate, agreeing that a Charge of Treaſon ſhould be drawn up againſt him, for endeavouring the deſtruction of this State, and abuſing that Court which repreſented it.

The King marched another way; and paſſing through *Derbyſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, he Commanded the trained bands of thoſe Counties to attend, and Guard his perſon; and when they were met, he diſarmed the greateſt part of them, taking as many Arms as ſerved for two thouſand men, beſides good ſums of mony, which he borrowed by conſtraint; proteſting ſtill (as uſually he did) to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, the Laws and liberties of the ſubject, and the priviledges of Parliament.

The Parliament Army, raiſed under the Conduct of the General *Eſſex*, was now grown into a conſiderable Bulk; conſiſting of about fourteen thouſand Horſe and foot, their general *Rendezvouz* was at *Northampton*, where many of

A fair Champian ground there is near *Keynton*, a Village in *Warwickshire*; and not above twenty furlongs from that Village, a great and ſteep hill, upon which the Kings Army had ſpread themſelves, and at the foot of that Hill, a large plain, called the Vale of the Red Horſe; Here firſt the Battel joyned; the Royallists deſcending cheerfully down the Hill; and the Parliamentarians from *Keynton* approaching toward them; the fight was begun with great Courage, and much ſlaughter on both parts; on one ſide the Earl of *Lindſey*; on the other the Earl of *Eſſex* manfully diſcharging the parts both of Generals and ſouldiers.

But preſently after the Battel was begun, Prince *Rupert*, who Commanded the Horſe in the Kings right wing, fell in with ſo furious a Charge upon the Parliaments left wing, (where moſt of their Horſe were placed) that immediately he put to flight all thoſe Parliament Horſe; whoſe foot likewiſe, being left by the Horſe, betook themſelves to flight. Prince *Rupert* following the chaſe far, and greedy of pillage, whileſt he was buſy in ſeizing the carriages and baggage of his Enemies, ſpent ſo much time therein, that the Kings Victory (which was almoſt gotten) was by that means quite loſt: for in the Kings left wing the fortune was not equal, whom Sir *William Balfore* charged ſo roundly, that he broke the beſt foot Regiments, and ſeized upon the Kings Artillery. There was a bloody fight; in that place the Kings Standard was taken, but ſoon loſt again; there were ſlain and taken Priſoners many brave men, among whom

Lindſey the Kings General was taken priſoner, who died within few hours of his wounds. Night parted the fight and gave a ſafe retreat to both ſides: both ſides challenged the Victory to themſeves; for which thanks were publickly given to God both by the Parliament and the King; for on both ſides appeared ſome marks of Victory, as Enſigns, Cannons, and priſoners taken. Concerning the number of the ſlain was no agreement; both parties reporting too falſely; but it was thought that of both Armies (though more of the Kings ſide than the other) were ſlain in that Battel above five thouſand. General *Eſſex* marched to *Coventry* to refreſh his Army; the King to *Oxford*, as to his winter Quarters. Prince *Rupert* with a body of Horſe flew up & down the Country night and day, plundring and robbing Towns and Villages; and made his Excurſions ſo far out of *Oxford*, that he ſtruck a terrour into the City of *London* it ſelf; in ſo much as that they deſired General *Eſſex* (who had deſigned to follow the King) that he would bring his Army nearer to *London*.

Eſſex on the ſeventh of *November* came to *Weſtminſter* (quartering his forces in the adjacent Villages) and was received with great honour by both Houſes of Parliament; and was preſented with five thouſand pounds, as a gratuity; with a large acknowledgement of his valour, and pains undergone for the Common-wealth.

Before the General departed from *London*, another bloody Battel was fought about *Brainford*. And ſo happened the occaſion; The Parliament grieved

grieved for this unnatural War, desirous to save the Kingdom, and recover *Ireland*, had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation, to be presented to the King, being then at *Colebrooke*, by the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Wainman*, Master *Pierpoint*, and Sir *John Ipsley*.

The King gave a fair Answer, protesting before God, That he was grieved for his peoples sufferings, and in order to peace, was willing to reside near *London*, and receive such propositions as they would send, and treat with them.

As soon as the Commissioners were gone with this answer, the Kings Artillery (for so all relations agree) advanced forward with the Horse, thorow *Colebrook*, after them toward *London*; and taking advantage of a great mist, which happened that night, they marched to *Brainford*; and fell upon the Parliaments Forces that were Quartered there, which was a broken Regiment of Colonel *Hollis*'s. The Kings Army killed many of them; and had, in likelihood, utterly destroyed them all, if the Lord *Brooks*, and Colonel *Hamdens* Regiments, that were billeted not far off, had not come in to their relief; who maintained a great and bloody fight against the Kings Army, till both sides at night retreated; many were slain and taken prisoners on both sides; and both reported themselves Conquerers, as before it happened at *Keynton* Battel.

News of this unexpected fight was soon at *London*, where the General was sitting in Parliament,

whither also the noise of their great Artillery was easily heard: He took Horse immediately to get strength together, and relieve his engaged men, but night had parted them, and the King was retired to his best advantages.

All that night forces came out of *London* thither, so that on the Sunday Morning, being the 14th. of *November*, a wonderful number of armed men were met, and had so far encompast the Kings Army, (small in comparison of them) that many hoped for an end of the War; but God was not so pleased, for the King escaped by reason of this errour: Three thousand Parliament souldiers were then at *Kingston*: They were commanded to leave that Town, and march speedily thorow *Surrey*, and over *London* Bridge, so thorow the City, to *Brainford*, to stop the enemies passage to *London*. A reason of that Command was afterwards given, because the Lord General was not assured of strength enough to stop the enemy from going to *London*; nor could be before-hand sure of so great a force, as he afterwards perceived to be come to him before morning.

Thus did the enclosed King escape, and retreated thorow that Town of *Kingston*, being so abandoned by the Parliament souldiers; and after he had plundred the Country thereabouts, retired safely to his Winter quarters at *Oxford*. The Parliament considering this Action of the King, began to hope little upon any Treaty; resolving that the General should speedily pur-

sue

ſue the Kings forces, and fall upon them; and the City of *London* to encourage the Parliament, made a Petition to them; wherein they entreated, *That they would proceed no further in the buſineſs of Accommodation, becauſe evil counſel was ſo prevalent with the King, that he would but delude them; that they had heard his forces are weak; and entreat that his excellency would follow and fall upon them; the City as heretofore, being ready to ſpend with all willingneſs their lives & fortunes, to aſſiſt the Parliament.* For which Petition and Proteſtation the Parliament returned thanks to the City, and according as they deſired, it was decreed in Parliament.

Book II.

A ſhort mention of the Progreſs of this Civil War.

THE beginnings of the Civil War, together with the Series of cauſes from whence it ſprung, as likewiſe the degrees by which it grew, have been already briefly and clearly ſhewed; The things which remain to be unfolded are of ſo great a weight, of ſo various a nature, and of ſo many pieces; that ſcarce any Hiſtorian (I might ſay Hiſtory it ſelf) is ſufficient to weave fully together ſo many particulars; my intention therefore is to make only a ſhort mention, not a full Narration, of that Variety.

For the War went on with horrid rage in many places at one time; and the fire once kindled, caſt forth through every corner of the Land not only ſparks but devouring flames; inſomuch as the

the kingdom of *England* was divided into more Wars than Counties; nor had ſhe more fields than skirmiſhes, nor Cities than Sieges; and almoſt all the Palaces of Lords, and great Houſes were turned every where into Garriſons of War: they fought at once by Sea and Land, and through all *England* (who could but lament the miſeries of his Country?) ſad ſpectacles were of plundering and firing Villages; and the fields, otherwiſe waſt and deſolate, were rich only, and terribly glorious in Camps and Armies.

The following Summer, namely in the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty three, proved for a long time fatal to the Parliament; and Fortune ſeemed to have condemned the cauſe of Liberty; ſo exceedingly did the King party flouriſh in ſucceſſes and Victories; and the Parliaments condition every where low, ſo that they were near to ruine, who in the end prevailed.

In the Weſt Sir *William Waller*, a Parliament Chieftain, who had gotten divers Victories, and then almoſt quite vanquiſhed Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was at laſt (namely in *July*) utterly defeated by the L. *Wilmot*, who came from *Oxford* with an Army of the King's; and having loſt all his Army, returned to *London*: and ſuch as the fortune of the Field was, was the condition of Towns and Garriſons; for immediately after *Wallers* defeat, the two greateſt Cities of all the Weſt were yielded up, *Briſtoll* to Prince *Rupert*, and *Exceſter* to Prince *Maurice*.

At the ſame time, in the North of *England*, was

the like ſucceſs; where the Lord *Fairfax*, who, with his valiant Son, had long and proſperouſly maintained the cauſe of the Parliament, being now overpowered by a puiſſant enemy, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and almoſt all his Forces ſcattered, was driven into *Hull*, and there beſieged.

Eſſex himſelf the great General at the ſame time his Army decreaſing ſuddenly, ſome dying of ſickneſs, others for want forſaking their colours, was conſtrained to leave the field, and return to *London*, quartering the ſick and weak remnant of his Army at *Kingſton*, and other adjacent places, until a Recruit could be made for him.

The Parliamentarians were now in a deſperate condition, and their ſtrengths every where broken; on the other ſide the Royalliſts ſtrong and dreadful in Arms, Men, and Horſes, conquerours of all the *Weſt*, of *Wales*, and the North of *England*, as far as the very borders of *Scotland*. One only Town of Note in the Midland Country, *Gloceſter*, ſtood out yet, faithful and conſtant to the Parliament, and much deſired by the King; who in great diſdain that this Town (after *Briſtol* and *Exceſter* were yielded) ſhould ſtand out, came in perſon to beſiege it with a great Army.

The Queen was now arrived in *England*, and had brought with her great ſtore of Arms, bought in *Holland* with the money which ſhe had raiſed by pawning the Crown-Jewels there; whoſe coming at this time ſeemed rather to a Triumph than a War.

Gloceſter

Gloceſter not only ſtaid the career of the Kings Victories; but made a great change in the Conditions of the ſides. The City was gallantly defended againſt a great and flouriſhing Army; whereing *Maſſey* the Govenour juſtly gained a wonderful renown; ſo long did he defend the City until General *Eſſex* could be recruited with an Army great enough to raiſe the Siege; and march thither from *London*, eighty miles.

Famous and honourable, in the judgement of all men, was that expedition of General *Eſſex*, who by ſo long a March, fighting often with great Bodies of the Kings Horſe by the way, brought notwithſtanding his whole Army ſafe to *Gloceſter*, raiſed the Siege, relieved that Town, and in his retreat from thence encounter'd & vanquiſhed the Kings Army in that memorable Battel of *Newbury*.

After this time the Parliament revived; of whoſe condition Wiſe men might juſtly have doubted, if the King leaving *Gloceſter*, had marched directly with his Victorious Army to *London*; which was then not at all fortified, and miſerably diſtracted with factions within it. Or beſides, if the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, letting alone the beſieging of *Hull* (which likewiſe proved fruitleſs) had poured out his numerous forces upon the Eaſtern aſſociated Counties: but it otherwiſe pleaſed God, who is the only Lord of Hoaſts, and by whoſe providence all things are guided.

Both ſides now, by this Victory of *Eſſex*, ſeemed to be put into an equal ballance both of ſtrength and reputation; and this ſad War not only likely

to

to be continued, but extended to a greater latitude: on one ſide the Parliament inviting to their aſſiſtance their brethren of *Scotland*: on the other ſide the King calling in his Iriſh. The Scots by a *Covenant* to be taken by both Nations for conſervation of Religion, Laws and Liberties: the Iriſh by a ceſſation of Arms granted by the King (a peace being alſo promiſed) were drawn in.

The Scots promiſed the Parliament (from whom Commiſſioners were ſent to *Edenburgh* about that buſineſs) that they would bring into *England* to their aſſiſtance an Army conſiſting of one and twenty thouſand Horſe and foot: the Parliament engaged themſelves to pay the Scots 100000. pounds toward the charge of raiſing that Army.

But the King dealt not ſo openly with thoſe bloody Iriſh, in bargaining for their aſſiſtance, but by a pretence of ceſſation of Arms for the behoof of the Engliſh Proteſtants in that Kingdom; which ceſſation notwithſtanding was for the benefit of the Iriſh Rebels; in lieu of which favour, they gave the King thirty thouſand pounds.

This was that ceſſation of Arms ſo much ſpoken againſt by honeſt men in *London*, for that reaſon eſpecially, that it was directly againſt a Law, and the Kings faith: for it was enacted by authority of Parliament (the King alſo ſigning the Act) in the year 1641. *That the War againſt thoſe bloody Iriſh Rebels ſhould proceed, until it were declared by Parliament that Ireland were fully ſubdued, and that no peace, nor any ceſſation of Arms ſhould be made with thoſe Rebels, without the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.*

Thus

Thus was aſſiſtance brought to either ſide; to the King (which he eſpecially aimed at in this buſineſs) that Engliſh Army, which for almoſt a whole years ſpace had fought valiantly and Victoriouſly againſt thoſe Rebels, was now brought into *England* (within five months after that ceſſation) to fight againſt the Parliament of *England*: but the cauſe being changed, the fortune of thoſe Souldiers was likewiſe changed, for they had no ſucceſs in *England*, but within a ſhort time after their atrival, that whole Army was utterly defeated; and all their chief commanders, with ſeventeen hundred common Souldiers, were taken priſoners by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

The Scotch Army, that Winter following, about the middle of *January*, paſſing over *Tweed* came into *England*. The Earl of *Leven* was General; his kinſman *David Leſley* commanded the Horſe: the ſnow that fell at that time covered the ground in an unuſual depth, and as great a froſt had congealed all the rivers; but the heat of fighting was greater than the rigor of the air; and the patience of Souldiers overcame the hard weather: The Earl of *Leven* marched with his forces againſt the Earl of *Newcaſtle*; who with a great Army poſſeſſed the Northern parts of *England* for the K. nor did the war go on with leſs vigour in other parts. In the beginning of the Spring great Armies were raiſed on both ſides, and filled all the countries with terrour: all the following Summer, which fell in the year 1644. they fought with equal fury, and almoſt equal fortunes; inſomuch as

as that *England* by the dubiouſneſs of ſucceſs on both ſides, and ſad viciſſitude of calamitous ſlaughters, was made an unhappy Kingdom.

The Kings fortune was ſuſtained by brave Armies in the Weſt, under the Princes *Rupert*, and *Maurice*; in *Wales* under *Gerard*, and others; in the midland Counties under Sir *Jacob Aſhley* an old Souldier; other Armies were commanded by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Colonel *Goring*, and in the North the Earl of *Newcaſtles* great Army.

Nor were the forces of the Parliament inferiour; the chief Army under the General *Eſſex*; *Waller* commanded another; the Earl of *Mancheſter*, to whom *Cromwel*, a ſtout and ſucceſſful Souldier was joyned, led a ſtrong Army toward the North, where the Lord *Fairfax* and his ſon had good forces, and Sir *John Meldrum* not far off; the Earl of *Denbigh* a ſtout Commander was with a fair Party about *Stafford*; and beſides theſe, the great Scotch Army.

At the beginning of that Summer the Parliament attempted a thing of great moment, to beſiege *Oxford*, or at leaſt to block up the King within that Town; which was endeavoured by two Armies, *Eſſex* on the one ſide, and *Waller* on the other; but the King deceived them both, and with a few light Horſe, eſcaping out of the Town, went to join with his greater Armies.

General *Eſſex* marched farther into the *Weſt*; but the expedition proved unhapy both to himſelf and the Parliament: *Waller* followed the King, but in vain; for he could not hinder his deſigned

March,

March, only ſome skirmiſhes happened between parts of their Forces: but nothing was done of any great moment, until *Waller* returned with his force to encounter enemies in other places. Various were the ſucceſſes this Summer in moſt parts of the Kingdom; in the *Weſt*, *South*, and midland Counties the Kings forces prevailed above the Parliament, which perchance had been ruined, if the *North* had not made them amends with ſome atchievements, beſides one great Victory.

For *Leven* with his Scotch forces coming the laſt Winter into *England*, beſides the taking of ſome Towns and forts, had much weakned *Newcaſtles* Army, leſſening their number, not by fighting, but enduring the ſharpneſs of that weather, which the other could not ſo well do. To *Leven* the Lord *Fairfax* (after *Selby* was ſo miraculouſly taken by valiant Sir *Thomas Fairfax*) joyned himſelf with all his forces; to whom alſo the Earl of *Mancheſter* (after his *Lincoln* expedition) came with a gallant Army.

Three Parliament Armies, under three Generals, *Leven*, *Mancheſter* and *Fairfax*, with great concord, and unanimity had marched together; and with joyned forces had beſieged the great City of *York*, whereof the Earl of *Newcaſtle* was Governour; to raiſe the ſiege Prince *Rupert* was come with a great Army out of the *South*; the three Generals left their ſiege to fight the Prince; under him alſo *Newcaſtle* having drawn his forces out of *York*, ſerved; who on a great plain called *Marſton*

ſton Moore gave battel to the three Generals.

This was the greateſt battel of the whole civil war: never did greater Armies both in number and ſtrength encounter; or drew more blood in one fight. The Victory at firſt was almoſt gotten by the Royaliſts, whoſe left Wing (*Fairfax* his men being diſadvantaged by the inconvenience of the ground) had routed and put to flight the right wing of the Parliamentarians: but this loſs was more than recompenced in the other Wing; where *Cromwel* (who fought under *Mancheſter*) charged with ſuch force and fury the right wing of the Royaliſts, that he broke the beſt Regiments which Prince *Rupert* had, and put them all to flight: *Cromwel*, together with *David Leſly*, purſued them; and wheeling about with his Horſe, came opportunely to the relief of his oppreſſed friends in the other wing, where they ceaſed not, until they had gained a compleat Victory, and all Prince *Rupert* his Ordnance, his carriages, and baggage were poſſeſſed by the Parliamentarians.

After this Victory, *Rupert*, with the remnant of his forces fled into the *South*, ſome of the Victorious Armies Horſe in vain purſuing him for ſome miles; the Earl of *Newcaſtle* with ſome of his choſen friends, leaving *York* (of which City Sir *Thomas Glenham* took the government) went to *Scarborough*; where within a while after he took ſhipping, and paſſed into *Germany*.

The three Generals, *Leven*, *Mancheſter*, and *Fairfax*, after this great Victory, returned to beſige *York*; to whom that City ſoon after, upon con-

di-

ditions, was rendered; after which they divided their forces, and *Leven* with his Scotch Army returning into the *North*, about the end of that Summer took the rich Town of *Newcaſtle*; about the ſame time that the General *Eſſex* unfortunately managed his buſineſs in the *Weſt*, and having loſt all his Artillery, returned to *London*.

This Summer the Queen paſſed into *France*; and uſed great endeavour to raiſe aid for the King her husband, among the Roman Catholicks; but thoſe endeavours proved fruitleſs; yet notwithſtanding, the War in *England*, without ſtrangers help, went on with rage and blood enough.

In midſt of theſe calamities of War, ſome hope of peace began to appear (though it ſoon vaniſhed again) and conditions were propoſed both by King and Parliament; upon which, in the following *February* (as hereafter ſhall be ſaid) they both treated. The end of this year, and beginning of the next were notably tragical in the puniſhment and death of eminent men; the two *Hothams*, Father and Son, having been condemned for Treaſon, for breaking the truſt of the Parliament, and conſpiring with the enemy to betray *Hull*, with other crimes, after they had been impriſoned above a whole year in the Tower of *London*, were this *Decem.* both beheaded; and Sir *Alexander Carew* not many days before, who was condemned for the ſame crime, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment: Famous alſo at that time was the death of *Wil. Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the crimes objected againſt him were too many, and of too various a nature

to

to be here related: four years almoſt had this unhappy old man been a priſoner; yet not enjoyed ſo much as the quiet of a priſon; for oftentimes (about fourſcore ſeveral days) he was carried from the Tower to *Weſtminſter*, and there arraigned in the Houſe of Lords; ſo the Fates were pleaſed in a ſad compenſation to equal his adverſity, even in time, with his proſperity.

This *January* he was beheaded, his life being ſpun out ſo long, till he might ſee (which was the obſervation of many) ſome few dayes before his death, the book of Liturgy aboliſhed, and the Directory, compoſed by the *Synod* at *Weſtminſter*, eſtabliſhed.

Though the King and Parliament were both thinking of a Treaty for Peace, yet the care of War was not neglected; the King being ſolicitous about getting of forreign aid, and the Parliament about new modelling their own Army: about this buſineſs (which ſeemed of the higheſt concern) there was ſome debate between the Lords and Commons; the Lords were againſt that change, alledging that there was no need of new Commanders, where the old ones could be accuſed of no fault; that men of the nobleſt rank were fitteſt to command Armies; the contrary whereof might breed confuſion in the Commonwealth. The Houſe of Commons on the other ſide, though they made a noble mention of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and thoſe other Peers, which commanded in the Armies, alledged notwithſtanding that the Parliament forces had been often diſtracted through the emula-

tion

tion of Commanders, from whence it proceeded, that ſome things very well deſigned, had not had a proſperous iſſue, that the Army would be better diſciplined under one ſole Commander.

At laſt, when they were agreed, a General was choſen to command the new Army; which was Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of eminent valour, and as much modeſty, who was then abſent in the North; but ſo great a buſineſs could not ſuddainly be finiſhed: and now the time approached for the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, in which three heads were to be debated.

1. *Of Religion, and Church Government.*
2. *Of the* Militia *of England.*
3. *Concerning the buſineſs of* Ireland.

But the King, before this Treaty began, uſed all means to aſſure himſelf of Foreign aid; by Letters he urged the Queen, who was then in *France*, to ſolicite that King, and other Catholicks to aſſiſt him; and that the Queen Regent would detain the Parliaments Ships in *France*. He was very earneſt likewiſe for aſſiſtance from the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he might get into *England* that wicked Army of his, ſo notorious through *Germany* and *Flanders* for all Villany; of which Army, as of that of *Marius*, when he entred *Rome*, it may be ſaid,

——Nulli geſtanda dabantur
Signa Ducis, niſi qui ſcelerum jam fecerat uſum,

Attulerat que in Caſtra nefas.

——No man his Enſigns bore,
But whothe badge of ſomeknown miſchief wore,
And brought guilt to the Camp.

At laſt, hope was given him from the Duke of *Lorrain*, of ten thouſand men; and for bringing of theſe Souldiers into *England*, *Goffe* was ſent into *Holland* to negotiate for ſhipping, and other neceſſaries.

The King likewiſe deſired aſſiſtance at that time from the bloody Iriſh Rebels, and by his Letters commanded *Ormond* to make a peace with thoſe Rebels, and to promiſe and grant to them a free exerciſe of their popiſh Religion, and to aſſure them, that if by their aſſiſtance he could but finiſh his war in *England*, he would abrogate all thoſe Laws heretofore made againſt the Papiſts there: he gave thanks likewiſe to *Muskery Plunket*, and other of thoſe Rebels, promiſing a pardon for all that was paſt. But they were much troubled at the Treaty for Peace with the Parliament; not being ignorant that one neceſſary condition of ſuch a peace muſt be, that the war in *Ireland* againſt them, ſhould be continued and proſecuted. The King therefore, to remove this their ſcrupulous fear, wrote to *Ormond* to this effect; *That he could not refuſe to make a peace with his Parliament, only in favour of thoſe Iriſh; yet notwithſtanding from that very conſideration* (*if* Ormond *handled the matter wiſely*) *he might raiſe an advantage to haſten a peace with*

with thoſe Iriſh, in letting them know their own danger, how they were excluded from all hope of pardon by the Parliament, For (ſaith he) *if we agree upon all other conditions, it will not be convenient for me to diſagree only concering thoſe Iriſh; therefore let them take what I offer, while time is, and haſten the Peace, and when once my faith is paſſed, no humane force ſhall make me break it.*

The Queen alſo (remaining in *France*) writing to her husband, ſeemed to grieve much that at *Uxbridge* they were to treat of *Religion* in the firſt place; affirming, *That if any thing ſevere againſt the Catholicks ſhould be concluded, and yet a peace not be made, the King could not hope hereafter for any aſſiſtance from the Catholick Princes, or from the Iriſh, who muſt needs think that after they had done their beſt, they ſhould at laſt be forſaken.* She often entreats the King, that he would never forſake the Biſhops, the Catholicks, nor thoſe faithfull friends of his that had ſerved him in his Wars: the King promiſeth her that he would never forſake his friends for a peace; only perſwades her to haſten, as much as ſhe can, the aids from *France*, ſaying, *That whileſt* London *is diſtracted between the Preſbyterians and Independents, both may be ruined.*

In *February* the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Uxbridge* to treat for peace. For the King came the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, and *Chicheſter*; the Lords *Dunſmore*, and *Capell*, with *Seimour*, *Culpeper*, *Gardiner*, *Hide*, *Lane*, *Bridge-*

man, *Palmer*, and others. For the Parliament the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrooke*, *Salisbury*, and *Denbigh*; of the Houſe of Commons *Wainman*, *Vane*, *Perpoint*, *Hollis*, *Prideaux*, *Saint John*, *Whitlock*, and *Crew*; and beſides theſe. ſix Commiſſioners of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*.

But nothing at all was concluded at that Treaty. The King would by no means conſent to the abrogation of Epiſcopacy; nor in the ſecond place, would he ſuffer the *Militia* to be taken out of his hands, which he conceived to be a chief flower of his Crown. Yet he was contented that for three years it ſhould be governed by twenty equally choſen out of both ſides. Laſtly, to the proſecution of a War againſt the Iriſh he could not conſent, having made a ceſſation of Arms with them; which in Honour he could not break.

Thus nothing at all being done toward peace, the War muſt decide it. The Parliament haſten the modelling of their new Army. The Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Mancheſter*, and *Denbigh* freely, and voluntarily lay down their Commiſſions.

The new modelled Army of the Parliament conſiſted of twenty one thouſand; namely, fourteen thouſand foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, and one thouſand Dragoons. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General; *Philip Skippon*, an excellent ſouldier, was made Major General. Colonels of the Foot Regiments were *Holborn*, *Forteſcue*, *Barclay*,

clay, Craford, Ingoldsby, Mountain, Pickering, Rainsborough, Welden, Aldridge: of the Horſe Regiments Sir *Michael Leveſey, Sheffield, Middleton, Sidney, Graves, Vermuden, Whaley, Fleetwood, Roſſiter, Py.* The King on the other ſide had great Forces under divers Commanders, to whom he diſtributed ſeveral Provinces: the Princes *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, with numerous forces poſſeſſed ſome of the Northern parts of the Kingdom; others were held by the Earl of *Darby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: Sir *John Biron* and *Gerard* held *Wales* and ſome adjacent Counties. The *Weſt* was wholly poſſeſſed by three Armies of his, under the ſeveral Commands of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and Colonel *Goring*. All theſe three, though Generals by themſelves, yet ſerved under the name of *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, as their ſupreme General.

But the King, not content with ſo great a force of Engliſh Souldiers, was more earneſt than before, to get over the Iriſh Papiſts; with whom he had before committed the buſineſs to *Ormond* to make an abſolute peace: but when the King percieved that thoſe Iriſh made two high demands, and that nothing was effected by *Ormond* toward the peace in ſo many Treaties, and ſo long a time, he thought of another way, which was, to the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, Son to *Worceſter* (whom he had created Earl of *Glamorgan*) a zealous Papiſt, and therefore moſt acceptable to thoſe Iriſh Rebels; the King gave full power by his Letters, to make a peace

with, and indulge to the Iriſh whatſoever ſhould ſeem needful. It ſeemed ſtrange to all men (when theſe things were brought to light, which was before the end of that year) that ſuch a buſineſs ſhould be carryed on, and yet concealed from the Lord *Digby*, Secretary for *Ireland*, and *Ormond*, the Lord Lieutenant, to whom the whole matter of that peace had been before committed.

But the King, when he ſaw it too hard a thing otherwiſe to make ſuch a peace as would bring a certainty of aſſiſtance from them, that he might throw all that Envy upon *Glamorgan*, impowered him unknown to the reſt: for ſo the Rebels, ſweetened with large promiſes (unknown to *Ormond*) might the better admit of conditions juſt in ſhew, and openly excuſable; and the King might draw from *Ireland* ſuch Souldiers as would more firmly adhere to his ſide, and he might truſt (as being the greateſt haters of Engliſh Proteſtants, and deſpairing of pardon) againſt the Parliament of *England*.

He

He therefore gave Letters of authority to *Glamorgan*, in theſe words:

CHARLES *by the grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. To our Truſty and well beloved Couſin*, Edward, *Earl of* Glamorgan *Greeting*: *Being confident of your wiſdom and fidelity, We do by theſe Letters, as if under our great Seal, grant unto you full power and authority to Treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholicks of* Ireland, *and to indulge to them all thoſe things which neceſſity ſhall require, and which we cannot ſo commodiouſly do by our Lieutenant, nor our Self publickly own at preſent. Therefore We command that you do this buſineſs with as much ſecreſie as can be: whatſoever you ſhall think fit to be promiſed in my name, that do I atteſt upon the word of a King, and a Chriſtian, to grant to thoſe Confederate Catholicks, who by their aſſiſtance have abundantly ſhewed their zeal to us, and our Cauſe. Given at* Oxford, *under our Royal Seal the twelfth day of* March, *and twentieth year of our Reign.*

Nor into *England* only did he endeavour to bring thoſe Iriſh, but into *Scotland*; which he effected, to the great damage of that unhappy Kingdom, by *Montroſs*, about the beginning of the year 1644. When the Scottiſh Covenanters came into *England* to aſſiſt the Parliament, *Montroſs*

troſs went to *Oxford* to the King, to offer his ſervice againſt the Covenanters in *Scotland*: The King to fit him for that purpoſe, created him a Marqueſs, and gave him his Commiſſion, to be Lord Governour of *Scotland*, and General of all his forces; the King then alſo ſent for the Earl of *Antrim*, to participate with *Montroſs* his Counſels; who entering into a confederacy with him before the King, engaged himſelf there, that he would ſend to *Montroſs* the next *April* into *Arguile* (where the paſſage is ſhort into *Ireland*) ten thouſand Iriſh.

This promiſe at the appointed time *Antrim* performed in part, but was very deficient in the number of Souldiers; for inſtead of ten thouſand, he ſent ſcarce twelve hundred Iriſh into *Scotland* under the conduct of *Macdonald*. *Montroſs* notwithſtanding with theſe men, with the addition of his Atholions, made up a ſufficient thieving Army; and making ſudden excurſions, he fell into the neighbouring Countries, waſting all, robbing houſes, and burning up the Corn where he came; inſomuch as that the State had need of great Armies to reſtrain his violence; whileſt the craggy Mountains of Atholia, and rough woody places there gave ſafe retreat to his Highlanders and Iriſh.

In this manner did *Montroſs*, for the ſpace almoſt of two years, lie within the bowles of his Countrey like a peſtilent diſeaſe; ſuch were his retreats,

retreats, and ſo great his boldneſs in excurſions, that no leſs an Army than twelve thouſand was thought ſufficient to defend the Provinces againſt him.

But *Montroſs* was toſſed with various turns of Fortune. The firſt Summer after his arrival in *Scotland*, he gave the Earl of *Arguile* a great blow, through the negligence of his men; where fifteen hundred were ſlain and taken by *Montroſs*; whereupon the Parliament of *Scotland* raiſed an Army of ten thouſand againſt him, and the ſame Parliament condemned *Montroſs* (with ſome other Lords) to be a Traitor, and an Enemy to his Country. *Montroſs* afterwards received a great overthrow from *Hurry*, and was enforced to fly to his craggy retreats; and ſhortly after he was again beaten by *Hurry* near to *Dundee*, and abſolutely forced to hide himſelf in his old receptacles: from whence notwithſtanding on a ſudden (as ſhall be ſhewed anon) he ſhewed himſelf, and from a contemptible eſtate grown juſtly formidable, he overwhelmed *Scotland* in a miſerable calamity.

While the King perſiſted in theſe courſes, the Kirk of *Scotland*, from the *Synod* at *Edenburgh* ſent Letters to him, containing a ſerious admonition; which (becauſe the admonition of a National Church may ſeem a thing of ſome moment) ſhall be ſet down *verbatim*, the Preface only omitted becauſe long, though very humble.

The

THE troubles of our hearts are enlarged, and our fears encreased in your Majesties behalf, perceiving that your Peoples patience is above measure tempted, and is like a Cart pressed down with Sheaves, and ready to break, while as besides many former designs and endeavours to bring desolation and destruction upon us, which were (and we trust all of that kind shall be) by the marvellous and merciful Providence of God discovered and disappointed; our Countrey is now infested, the blood of divers of our brethren spilt, and other acts of most barbarous and horrid cruelty exercised by the cursed crew of the Irish Rebels, and their complices in this Kingdom, under the conduct of such as have Commission and Warrant from your Majesty, and unless we prove unfaithful both to God and your Majesty, we cannot conceal another danger, which is infinitely greater than your peoples displeasure. Therefore we, the servants of the most high God, and your Majesties most loyal Subjects, in the humility and grief of our hearts, fall down before your Throne, and in the name of our Lord and master Jesus Christ, who shall judge the world in Righteousness, both great and small; and in the name of this whole National Kirk, which we represent, we make bold to warn your Majesty freely, that the guilt which cleaveth fast to your Majesty, and to your Throne, is such, as (whatsoever flattering preachers, or unfaithful Counsellors may say to the contrary) if not timely repented, cannot but involve your self, and your posterity under the wrath of the ever-

everliving God: for your being guilty of the ſhedding of the blood of many thouſands of your Majeſties beſt Subjects: for your permitting the Maſs, and other Idolatry, both in your own Family, and in your Dominions: for your authorizing by the book of ſports, the prophanation of the Lords day: for your not puniſhing of publick ſcandals, and much prophaneneſs in, and about your Court: for the ſhutting of your ears from the humble and juſt deſires of your faithfull ſubjects: for your complying too much with the popiſh party many ways, and namely by concluding the ceſſation of Arms in Ireland; *and your embracing the counſels of thoſe who have not ſet God, nor your good before their eyes: for your reſiſting and oppoſing this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God, your own honour, and happineſs, and the peace, and ſafety of your Kingdoms: and for what other cauſes, your Majeſty is moſt conſcious, and may beſt judge and ſearch your own conſcience (nor would we have mentioned any particulars, if they had not been publick and known) For all which it is high time for your Majeſty to fall down at the footſtool of the King of glory, to acknowledge your offences, to repent timely, to make your peace with God through Jeſus Chriſt (whoſe blood is able to waſh away your great ſins) and to be no longer unwilling that the Son of God reign over you, and your Kingdoms, in his pure Ordinances of Church-government and Worſhip.*

They conclude with a profeſſion and proteſtation

ſtation of their conſtancy in ſo juſt a cauſe, againſt any oppoſitions whatſoever. This admonition of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* was ſent firſt to the Scotch Commiſſioners at *London*, and by them delivered to the Kings Secretary: but Eccleſiaſtical admonitions, in the heat of War, little availed.

When the Spring began, the War with great heat and courage on both ſides was renewed. General *Eſſex* had laid down his Commiſſion; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* went to *Windſor* to his new modelled Army; a new Army indeed, made up of ſome remainders of the old ones, and other raiſed forces in the Countries; an Army ſeeming no way glorious either in the dignity of Commanders, or antiquity of Souldiers; never hardly did any Army go forth to War with leſs confidence of their own ſide, or more contempt of their enemies, and did more bravely deceive both; and ſhew how far it was poſſible for humane conjectures to erre. For in their following actions and ſucceſſes they proved ſuch, as would too much poſe antiquity, among all the Camps of their famed *Heroes*, to finde a parallel to this Army.

He that will ſeriouſly weigh their atchievements in the following year, againſt potent and gallant Enemies; and conſider the greatneſs of things, the number of Victories, how many batels were won, how many Towns and Garriſons were taken; he can hardly think them the work

work of one year, or fit to be called one War.

But whoſoever conſiders this, muſt take heed that he do not attribute too much to them, but give it wholly to Almighty God; whoſe providence over this Army, as it did afterwards miraculouſly appear; ſo it might in ſome meaſure be hoped for at the firſt, conſidering the behaviour and diſcipline of thoſe Souldiers. For the uſual vices of Camps were here reſtrained, the diſcipline was ſtrict; no theft, no wantonneſs, no oaths, nor any prophane words could eſcape without the ſevereſt caſtigation; by which it was brought to paſs, that in this Camp, as in a well ordered City, paſſage was ſafe, and commerce free.

The firſt expedition of General *Fairfax*, as it was ordered by the Committee of both Kingdoms, was into the *Weſt*, to relieve *Taunton*; a Town that had long, with incredible manhood and conſtancy, under *Blake* their Governour, endured a ſharp ſiege by Sir *Richard Greenvile*, and ſeemed to emulate (though with more happineſs) the fidelity of old *Sagunthum*: but this work was not done by the General himſelf, but Colonel *Welden*, who was ſent thither with ſeven thouſand of the new Army. *Fairfax* himſelf was recalled by the Committee of both Kingdoms to go upon other action.

But

But becauſe the King had ſent for Prince *Rupert* from *Wales* to come to *Oxford*, that he might joyn forces, and march into the field; General *Fairfax*, before he went from *Windſor*, ſent *Cromwell* with a party of Horſe, to hinder the Kings deſigns; who marching ſpeedily from *Windſor*, with great felicity vanquiſhed a part of the Kings forces at *Iſlip-bridge*, taking divers of the Commanders priſoners: the remainder of that party flying into *Bletchington* Houſe, were there beſieged, and yielded to *Cromwel*. With the ſame ſucceſs at *Bampton-buſh* he took *Vaughan* and *Littleton*; and defeated their Forces.

The King, when Prince *Rupert* and *Maurice* were come to him with their forces, deſigned his march toward the *Eaſt*, to take poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Ely*, which he hoped would be betrayed to him by ſome of his party there. *Cromwel*, and Major General *Brown*, the Governor of *Abington*, were Commanded to follow the King; but ſoon recalled, as too weak in forces to encounter the King, and to aſſiſt General *Fairfax* in beſieging of *Oxford*; for then *Fairfax* was ordered to beſieg *Oxford*; but the deſign was not good, and the Committee of both Kingdoms, though too late, repented it.

For in the mean time the King ſecurely marched Northward with his Army, and took the conſiderable Town of *Leiceſter*.

Fairfax

Fairfax recalled from the ſiege of *Oxford*, (while *Cromwel* was ſent away to ſtrengthen the Eaſtern Counties) with all his forces followed the King; nor was the famous battel long deferred; in which all men conjectured what the liberties and Laws of *England*, and what the Kings power ſhould be, muſt be tried by the ſword. *Naſeby* fields, not far from *Northampton* were the place where the fate of *England* was to be determined. The fourteenth of *June* was the memorable day: nor was the number of the Armies very unequal, (the Royaliſts only were ſtrongeſt in Horſe) nor the ordering of their Battalia's much unlike; The Kings Front was filled with brave Troops of Horſe; the Foot ſtood in the ſecond Body. The right wing was Commanded by the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*; the left by Sir *Jacob Aſhley*; other Commanders of great quality ſuſtaining their parts.

The Parliamentarian Foot made a firm Body in the midſt. The wings were guarded by the Horſe; the right wing was commanded by *Cromwel*; who to the exceeding joy of the whole Army, that very night before the battel was fought, arrived there: the left wing by *Ireton*: Colonel *Roſſiter*, a brave commander, but a little before the battel began, came with his Horſe, and took his place with *Cromwel* on the right wing: the Foot was Commanded by Major

Major General *Skippon*, and divided into two Bodies. The Parliamentarians word was, *God with us.* The Royaliſts, *God, and Queen* Mary.

Fortune at the firſt (as in ſome other battels) ſeemed a while to flatter the Kings ſide, for the left wing of the Parliament was worſted, and the Commander *Ireton*, receiving two wounds, was taken Priſoner, and kept ſo during the fight. Prince *Rupert* with great fury fell in, and purſued that routed wing; inſomuch that the day had been loſt, if *Cromwel*, who came on with as great force, had not in like manner routed and overthrown the Kings left wing: the buſineſs now ſeemed in an equal ballance, and the wings on both ſides being thus ſcattered, they fought ſome time upon dubious hopes; magnanimous *Skippon* was grievouſly wounded; yet would not forſake the Battle, but with all poſſible endeavours diſcharged his part till the Victory was obtained: The *Fairfaxians* at laſt charged ſo fiercely on the Royaliſts, that they no longer could endure the Brunt: The Horſe in all diſordered haſte fled toward *Leiceſter*, and forſook the whole body of their Foot, with their Artillery and Carriages; who being ſurrounded by the *Fairfaxians*, threw down their Arms, crying for Quarter, and were all taken Priſoners.

This

This Battel was the happieſt of all other to the Parliament, the Victory abſolute, and undoubted, and almoſt five thouſand priſoners carryed to *London*; the Kings Standard, and one hundred other colours were taken, with all their Ordnance, and a very rich booty; a great quantity of Gold and Silver, and all the ſecret Letters of the King came by this means into the Conquerors hands; but ſo few were ſlain in this battel, that a reader may juſtly wonder how ſo many priſoners ſhould be taken, and ſo much wealth purchaſed with the loſs of ſo little blood; for on the Kings ſide ſcarce four hundred were ſlain; on the Parliaments ſcarce one hundred. *Cromwell* with his Horſe purſued the vanquiſhed Roialiſts (who fled a pace, and betook themſelves to divers of their own Garriſons) and bringing back a great number of Priſoners, returned to the General, who now marched with his Victorious Army to *Leiceſter*, which was ſoon rendred to him. *Fairfax*, leaving a Garriſon in *Leiceſter*, that he might make uſe of his Victory to the good of the Commonwealth, and hinder the King from recruiting himſelf, to protract this ſad War, reſolved to follow him cloſe; he therefore marched Weſtward, that he might both purſue the King, and raiſe the Siege of *Taunton*.

The Kings Letters taken at *Naſeby* were publickly read in *London* before a great Aſſembly of Citizens, where many of both Houſes of Parliament were preſent; and leave was given to as many as pleaſed, or knew the Kings hand (to refute

the calumny of thoſe who ſaid the Letters were counterfeit) to peruſe them all, out of which a ſelected bundle were printed by command of the Parliament.

From the reading of theſe Letters many diſcourſes of the people aroſe, for there appeared his tranſactions with the Iriſh Rebels, and with the Queen for aſſiſtance from *France*, and the Duke of *Lorraign*; of which before is ſpoken. Many good men were ſorry that the Kings actions agreed no better with his words; that he openly proteſted before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing ſo much as the preſervation of Proteſtant Religion, and rooting out of Popery: yet in the mean time under hand he promiſed to the Iriſh Rebels an abrogation of thoſe Laws againſt them, which was contrary to his late expreſſed promiſes, in theſe words, *I will never abrogate the Laws againſt the Papiſts*: and again, *I abhor to think of bringing forraign Souldiers into the Kingdom*: and yet he ſollicited the Duke of *Lorraign*, the *French*, the *Danes*, and the very *Iriſh* for aſſiſtance; they were vexed alſo that the King was ſo much ruled by the will of his wife, as to do every thing by her preſcript; that *Peace*, *War*, *Religion*, and Parliament ſhould be at her diſpoſall.

It appeared beſides out of thoſe Letters, with what mind the King treated with the Parliament at *Uxbridge*, and what could be hoped by that Treaty; when writing to the Queen, he affirms, that if he could have had but two more conſenting

ing to his Vote, he would not have given the name of Parliament to them at *Weſtminſter*: at laſt, he agreed to it in this ſenſe, *That it was not all one to call them a Parliament, and to acknowledge them ſo to be*; and upon that reaſon (which might have diſpleaſed his own ſide) he calls thoſe with him at *Oxford a Mungrell Parliament.*

The King, after his overthrow at *Naſeby*, fled to *Lichfield*; and from thence he went to *Hereford*, to raiſe forces (eſpecially foot, for he had ſtill ſtore of brave Horſe, that came to him after that battel) in *Wales*, in *Cornwall*, and in other places? but nothing at all that following year proſpered with the King, Fortune enclining wholly to the Parliaments ſide, whoſe cauſe it appeared that God approved, by the grant of ſo many ſtrange and ſignal Victories to them; the valour of the Roialiſts availed not, and all their endeavours fell to nothing.

General *Fairfax*, after the Battel of *Naſeby*, by long Marches paſſed into the Weſt. *Taunton* was relieved only by the fame of his approach; for *Goring* raiſed his Siege, and went away. That conſtant Town had been reduced to great extremities, it had ſuffered much, and done great things againſt ſtrong Enemies, and could not at this time in poſſibility have held out long, without ſome relief. The Parliament rejoyced much at the delivery of that Town; three Parliament Carriſons about that time, and the fore-going year, behaved themſelves with ſuch courage, and conſtancy, as might deſerve to be celebrated in a larger Hiſtory; *viz.*

Lime, *Plimouth*, and *Taunton*, all which, having been often beſieged by Prince *Maurice*, *Greenvile*, *Goring*, and other Commanders; had not only held out againſt thoſe ſtrong Enemies, but much broken their Forces.

The things which that new Army under the conduct of *Fairfax* did that following year (taking no reſt all that ſharp and bitter Winter) were much to be wondered at, how many ſtrong Towns and Forts they took, how many field Victories they obtained, the ſtories of every ſeveral month will declare; of which becauſe they are more accurately deſcribed by other pens, I ſhall here only make a ſhort mention; for within the ſpace of one year all the Weſtern Counties of *England*, great Armies under the conduct of Prince *Rupert*, *Greenvile*, *Hopton*, and *Goring*, being utterly vanquiſhed and brought to nothing, were reduced to the obedience of Parliament.

In the months of *Auguſt* and *September* were taken *Bath*, and *Sherburn*; and *Briſtoll* it ſelf, the greateſt and moſt wealthy City of the whole Weſt, was by Prince *Rupert* ſurrendred to General *Fairfax*.

The Army alſo, when it was divided, by reaſon of the multiplicity of their work, was not leſs ſucceſsful in the parts of it; *Winchester*, and *Baſing* taken by *Cromwel*; the *Devizes*, and *Barclay* by other Commanders; *Fairfax* himſelf marching (that cold *December*) into *Devonſhire*, took *Tiverton*; and with ſtrange felicity ſtormed and took *Dartmouth*; and afterwards drove the Kings Armies

mies into *Cornwall*, whom *Fairfax* purſuing, at *Torrington*, gave *Hopton* a great overthrow. In the month of *February* with his Victorious Army he entred *Cornwal*, for fear of whom Prince *Charles* fled into the Iſlands of *Silly*; and in *March* following, all *Hoptons* forces, by the Command of the Conqueror *Fairfax*, were disbanded and ſent away; and the whole County of *Cornwal* reduced to the obedience of Parliament.

In the following *April*, *Exceſter*, and *Barnſtable* were ſurrendred to *Fairfax*, and *Bridgewater* ſtormed; but when they yielded, taken to mercy. S. *Michaels Mount*, the fartheſt angle of *Cornwal*, was alſo ſurrendred to Colonel *Hamond*. Thus *Fairfax*, the Conqueror of the Weſt, having fitted all things for his expedition, to make an end of the War, is marching to beſiege *Oxford*: *Wodſtock* was already taken by Colonel *Rainsborough*; but in all theſe months that the General had done ſuch great things in the Weſt, the other Commanders of Parliament were not unfortunate (the Fates ſeeming to conſpire at that ſide) in the North, and mid-land Counties of *England*; about the midſt of Summer *Carliſle* was ſurrendred by *Glenham* the Governor to the Scottiſh Army, a Garriſon of Scots was put into that Town; of which the Engliſh complained, as being againſt the Covenant; the Parliament alſo wrote to *Leven* to reſtore *Carliſle* to the Engliſh; not that they did ſuſpect any evil from their brethren, but that conditions might be obſerved, and the mouths of ill-affected people ſtopped, who were too apt to ſay that *The*

Scots came into England not as friends, but Freebooters: From that time the Parliament ordained to have their Commiſſioners (as the Scots had theirs at *London*) reſident in *Edenburgh*, to be preſent with the Parliament of *Scotland*; and to that purpoſe the Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Wharton*; and of the Commons Sir *Henry Vain* the Elder, Sir *William Armin*, Mr. *Hatcher*, and Mr. *Goodwin* were choſen. *Glenham* with his men, after the ſurrender of *Carliſle*, went to *Newark*. The Scottiſh Army about that time marched under *Leven* to *Newark*, to beſiege that Town, but the Scottiſh horſe ſtaid not long there, being forced to return into the North, to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed Countrey; For the Engliſh Parliament at that time, in midſt of their own proſperity, were notwithſtanding mourners for the calamity of *Scotland*, a great, unexſpected, and wonderful calamity; in which the frailty of humane affairs, and the mutable condition of Kingdoms was ſet forth by a memorable example; all *Scotland* within the ſpace of one month was loſt and recovered; quite ſunk, and again emergent.

The man that thus plagued *Scotland*, was the Earl of *Montroſs*; one, on whom the Kings hopes ſo much then depended, that out of an earneſt deſire to joyn his Forces to *Montroſs*, the King with a body of good horſe marched Northward, but by the forces of *Pointz*, *Gell*, *Roſſiter*, and others the Kings expedition was ſtopped, that he could not meet *Montroſs*: for it had been agreed betwixt the King and *Montroſs*, that at the ſame time he

from

from the South ſhould march Northward, and the other from the North, to meet him, ſhould come Southward, that the Kings horſe joyned to his foot, might make a conſiderable Army in thoſe parts; but the Kings paſſage, though he tryed many ways, was (as beforeſaid) ſtopped. *Montroſs*, mindful of his promiſe, broke out into the Southern ports of *Scotland*, with greater ſucceſs then could be hoped, having ſcarce 4000. Highlanders and Iriſh.

A place there was near to *Kilſithe*, which the craggy Mountains, and ſtraightned paſſages had made fit for ambuſhes, where *Montroſs* had ſeated himſelf; thither the Army of the State, confident of their number, whilſt unadviſedly they purſued the theeving Highlanders, fell into the cunningly-diſpoſed ambuſhes, and were cut off with a miſerable ſlaughter; above five thouſand were ſlain, and none almoſt eſcaped, but whom the wearied Conquerors had not ſtrength to kill; for cruel *Montroſs* ſpared none, crying out, *They had no need of Priſoners.*

This overthrow of *Kilſithe* at one battel had utterly ruined the State of *Scotland*, if *David Leſley* (about a month after giving an abſolute overthrow to *Montroſs*) had not reſtored it; for after this ſo unexpected a defeat, the State of *Scotland* had no Army for a Reſerve, or Force to ſtop the paſſage of the Conqueror, to whom almoſt all the Towns preſently yielded. The Papiſts and Malignants, and all neuters, with thoſe that had before diſſembled their affections, now joyned with him,

the reſt were cut off; all the chief Nobility of the Covenanters were forced to fly into *England.*

A publick Faſt and Humiliation was kept by the Engliſh, for the calamity of their brethren of *Scotland.* General *Fairfax*, and other of the chief Commanders wrote to *Leven*, *That they accounted the Calamity of* Scotland *to be their own; and that if their affairs at home would permit, and the Parliament would command it, they would earneſtly undertake that War, and venture their bloods as freely for the Scots, as for the Engliſh, till the Enemies of the three Kingdoms were fully vanquiſhed.*

But *Montroſs* his cruel Reign laſted not long, ſcarce a whole month; to vindicate *Scotland David Leſly* was ſufficient, who with his Horſe coming thither, at *Selkirk* gave *Montroſs* ſo total a defeat, that it ſeemed fully to recompenſe *Kilſithe*; the Victory was gotten in an hours ſpace, and (as it was obſerved by a *German* writer) upon the ſame day that the Queen of *England* at *Paris* was ſinging *Te Deum Laudamus* for *Montroſs* his Victory at *Kilſithe.*

Thus was *Scotland* recovered before the King could come to *Montroſs*; which notwithſtanding the King ſoon after attempted, and marching Northward with a ſtrength not contemptible, having *Gerard* and *Langdale* with him, came to *Routenheath*; his deſign was, that if he could not joyn with *Montroſs*, yet at the leaſt that he might raiſe the Siege of *Cheſter*; for the King was exceedingly ſolicitous for that City, as being the moſt

convenient Haven to receive the tranſported Iriſh, whom he ſo long in vain expected. But that expedition proved moſt unfortunate to the King; for in a battle fought upon *Routenheath*, where *Pointz* was Commander of the Parliaments Army, the King was vanquiſhed, and eight hundred of his men ſlain.

Nor was the Lord *Digbies* expedition to *Montroſs* more fortunate, who in the following month, together with *Langdale*, having got together one thouſand Horſe, marched into the North to that purpoſe: for at *Sherburn* in *Yorkshire* he was beaten, and put to flight by *Pointz*, *Copley*, and other Parliamentarians; and afterwards at *Carliſle* he was defeated by *Brown* and *Leſley*; and having loſt all his Forces, fled into the Iſle of *Man* to the Earl of *Derby*; from whence ſhortly after he paſſed into *Ireland*. When *Digby* was defeated at *Sherburn*, other ſecret Letters and papers of the Kings were taken; whereby ſome deſigns of his were laid open, aud ſome things more clearly diſcovered about his tranſactions with *Danes*, *Iriſh* and others. The Roialiſts at *Oxford* did much blame *Digby*'s carcleſneſs, that would carry ſuch papers with him into a Battel, which were ſcarce ſafe enough in the ſtrongeſt Fort; eſpecially remembring what a ſtir was made about the Letters taken at *Naſeby*.

Digby was now in *Ireland*, and (about the end of *December*) together with *Ormond*, treating about a peace with the Iriſh; when on a ſudden the Kings affairs began to be endangered there, by

by divulging of *Glamorgans* ſecret tranſaction with the Iriſh Rebels, of which we ſpake before; *Ormond*, and *Digby*, fearing leaſt if this diſcovery ſhould grow too general among the people, that all the former rumors would find credit; as namely that the King was author of the Iriſh Rebellion, and ſought to confirm Popery, from whence a general revolt of all the Proteſtants might be feared; and although *Digby* thought *Glamorgan* to be an unadviſed man, yet could not ſuppoſe him ſo fooliſh, as to undertake ſuch a thing as that, without any warrant at all. Therefore it was agreed betwixt them, that (for fear leaſt, when this diſcovery were grown more general, it might be too late to vindicate the King) *Digby* ſhould preſently accuſe *Glamorgan* of Treaſon: But *Ormond* and *Digby* were both troubled with this fear, (becauſe at that time three thouſand Iriſh were promiſed to go over to the relief of *Cheſter*) leſt by this unſeaſonable vindication of the King, *Cheſter* might be loſt, for want of tranſportation of thoſe Forces; but when they underſtood that, according to *Glamorgans* compact, thoſe Iriſh were not to go for *England*, before the King had made good the conditions which *Glamorgan* promiſed, and confirmed the peace; and while they were conſulting about this perplexed buſineſs, it was told them; That the Proteſtants of *Dublin*, upon that news were in a great mutiny, and the worſt was feared within few hours, unleſs the danger were ſpeedily prevented; *Digby* was enforced to make haſt, and accuſe *Glamorgan* (who was not at all diſmayed

ed, knowing it was only to deceive the people) of high Treaſon. *Glamorgan* therefore with great confidence and alacrity went to priſon, affirming, *That he did not fear to give account at London, or before the Parliament, of what he had done by the Kings warrant*: but it was wonder to ſee what a change in the Proteſtants at *Dublin* this feigned accuſation of high Treaſon ſuddenly made; and they who before murmured were now appeaſed.

But yet there remained another difficulty to be extricated; *Ormond* was fearful, leſt the Iriſh, incenſed by this injury done to *Clamorgan*, ſhould ſuddenly fly to Arms, before the Kings Forces were ready for them; to prevent that danger, he wrote to *Muskerry* concerning the reaſons of this action, and the extream neceſſity; and withal he ſeemed to approve the conditions for peace, as the Rebels had propoſed them, and ſent them to *Kilkenny* to be further diſcuſſed, with ſome dubiouſneſs of the event, this might ſpend time, until ſome new hopes of relieving *Cheſter*, or otherwiſe ſupplying the King, might ariſe.

But all theſe devices nothing availed the King, all his deſigns were fruſtrated, nor ever could he bring into *England* an Army either of *Iriſh* Rebels, *Lorraigners*, or *Danes* (God providing better for that Kingdom) until at laſt all his Forces every where were vanquiſhed, and wholly ſubdued by the Parliament; for in the following month, *February*, that very City of *Cheſter*, for which he had been ſo ſollicitous, a City ſo often beſieged, and now

how long defended by *Biron*, came into the power of the Parliament; for *Biron* the Governour, upon honourable terms delivered it up to *Breerton*.

Nor was the Kings ſide more lucky in any County of *England*; for beſides the whole Weſt (that Winter, and the following Spring) by many field Victories, and gaining of Towns, conquered by *Fairfax*; in the mid-land Counties alſo, in the North, and in *Wales*, in ſeveral battels all that time the Roialiſts were vanquiſhed by eminent Commanders of the Parliament; ſuch as were *Maſſey*, *Pointz*, *Brown*, *Roſſiter*, *Mittan*, *Gell*, *Breerton*, *Langhorn*, and others; and in the month of *March* (which was the laſt noted field-Victory) *Aſhley* himſelf the Kings General was vanquiſhed by *Morgan* in a memorable battle, and taken Priſoner, with one thouſand ſix hundred of his men. *Aſhley*, when he was taken, ſpake aloud theſe words, *You have done your work, and wholly vanquiſhed the Kings party, unleſs your own diſſentions raiſe them again.*

At this time *Newark* the ſtrongeſt Garriſon of the Kings, which had long, and much infeſted the adjacent Counties, was ſtraitly beſieged by *Leven*, *Pointz*, and *Roſſiter*; and General *Fairfax*, after reducing of the Weſt, having provided what was fit, haſtened to beſiege *Oxford*, the head of the War. The King having now no Garriſons left, but *Banbury*, *Wallingford*, *Worceſter*, *Ragland* and *Pendennis*, all which in a ſhort time after, were alſo

alſo taken, and could glory only in this, that they had held out after *Oxford*.

The beſieged *Newarkers*, though the Plague raged in the Town, and they began to want victuals, yet, ſuſtained themſelves upon hopes of ſome diſſentions that might ariſe between the Engliſh and the Scots.

For now the Scots began to complain of want of pay, of the neglect of Church-government and the Covenant: the Parliament anſwered, that that Scottiſh Army in two years ſpace had received above two hundred thouſand pounds for pay, beſides a vaſt ſum of money, which they had by force extorted from the poor weeping Inhabitants of the Northen Counties; and beſides that, their Army had not ſatisfied the expectation of the Engliſh, but had layn idle in the beſt time of the year: if they were ſo preciſe in obſervation of the Covenant, why then, contrary to the Covenant, did the Scots put Garriſons into *Newcaſtle*, *Tinmouth* and *Carliſle*; neither was it juſt in the Scots to object any thing in the caſe of Religion, ſeeing the Parliament are now labouring in it, being a buſineſs which requires time, and mature deliberation.

From theſe jars the King hoped for ſome advantage to himſelf; and now *Oxford* began to be blocked up by *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, and every day the coming of *Fairfax* himſelf, and a ſtraiter ſiege of that City was expected; therefore before this ſhould happen, the King reſolved to go out of *Oxford*; and communicating his mind to ſome inward Coun-

Councellors; above all other places, he pitched upon the Scottiſh Camp; to the Scots therefore, as they lay before *Newark*, the King ſent *Montruel* the French Embaſſador, and himſelf ſoon after, as *Aſhburnhams*-man, with a Cloack-bag behind him, eſcaped unknown out of *Oxford*, and came to *Newark*.

From this enterprize the King was diſſwaded by ſome, who loved the ſafety of their Country; and entreated rather to deliver himſelf to *Fairfax*, which might in probality put an end to the War; but the King was obſtinate in his deſign, not doubting but that diſſentions daily growing between the two Nations, he ſhould be more welcome to the Scots, ſafe from harm, and be able by this means either to make a peace upon his own conditions, or kindle a new War.

The King came firſt to *Montruels* houſe, and from thence to *Southwell*, into the Scottiſh Camp; the beſieged *Newarkers* underſtanding of the Kings coming, and being brought into great ſtraits, harkned to conditions, and ſurrendered the Town.

The Scots ſeemed to be amazed at the Kings unexpected coming to them, and ſo ſignified the matter to the Engliſh Commiſſioners, then preſent with them upon the place. Letters were immediately written of it to *London*, and to *Edenburgh*; the Engliſh Parliament required the Scots to detain the King at *Southwel*; but they, contrary to that Order, carryed him away to *Kelham*, where a greater part of their Army lay, and ſoon after,

after, without expecting any further Orders from the Parliament of *England*, removed their Camp, marched Northward, and carryed away the King with them to *Newcaſtle*.

The Scots excuſed their departure, becauſe *Newark* being yielded, no work was left for them, but alledged, *That as the King came to them of his own accord, unexpected; ſo he followed their Army, neither being entreated, nor forbidden by them:* but they ſeemed to haſten their departure, by reaſon of a rumor (whether true or falſly pretended) that *Cromwel* with all his Horſe was marching toward them.

But the Engliſh upon this complained much both againſt the Scots and the King; To the Scots they objected the *breach of Covenant and Treaty*; To the King they imputed it *As a great obſtinacy and deſpight toward the Engliſh Nation, whom he had ſo long injured, that now in his low ebb, he ſhould in* England, *leaving the Parliament of* England, *go to the Scots, their Mercenaries: if he deſired peace, why did he not embrace it, being offered upon ſuch conditions, as beſides his neceſſities, the comman ſafety of his People invited him to? rather then go about to kindle new fire between the two confederate Nations.*

In the beginning of *May*, General *Fairfax* with his whole Army came within ſight of *Oxford*, and diſpoſing his quarters round about the City, ſummoned the Governour *Glenham* to ſurrender it; *Glenham* anſwered that he would firſt ſend to the King, and when he knew his mind, would do what

what was fitting. This anſwer was not allowed: Nevertheleſs *Fairfax* conſidering with himſelf (which was alſo the opinion of all his Commanders) that it was likely to prove a long Siege, being a City excellent well fortified, and a ſtrong Garriſon in it, conſiſting of at leaſt five thouſand, moſt of them old Souldiers, ſtored with proviſions, arms, and ammunition for a great while; yet was put into hope of ſooner obtaining it, by intelligence which he had gotten out of Letters, and by ſome Spies, that within they were much divided in their opinions; and the greater part (eſpecially thoſe of the Nobility) deſired it ſhould be ſurrendred, that they might have, while time was, honourable conditions. Therefore they began to Treat, and not only between the Army and the City, but in Parliament at *London* it was debated, and at laſt decreed, That the beſieged ſhould rather have the beſt conditions, then that their precious Army ſhould be conſumed before ſo ſtrong a place, whilſt in the mean time many things might fall out ill to the Common-wealth.

But the chief reaſon of granting ſuch large conditions, was, that the conquering Army, it being now Mid-ſummer, might be tranſported into *Ireland*, to vindicate that afflicted Country againſt the barbarous and bloody Rebels, but that ſo pious an intention of the Parliament was quite fruſtrated by the Kings going to the Scots, of whom at that time there were ſome jealouſies, and that the King went to the Scots for that very purpoſe, it was believed, by Letters (which were intercept-

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ed afterward) written to *Ormend*, before he went out of *Oxford*, *We hope that this design of ours, though it may seem dangerous to our person, will prove advantagious for* Ireland, *in hindering the Rebels* (meaning the Parliament) *from transporting any Forces into that Kingdom.*

Thus *Oxford* was surrendered; and at the appointed day all the Souldiers of that Garrison marched away by *Fairfax* his Army, with great quiet and modesty on both sides. The Duke of *York* was honourably conducted to *London*, where two of the Kings Children remained; thither also went all the Noble-men, nor was it denyed to any of the Besieged to go to *London*; but the Princes, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, being commanded to go out of *England*, prepared for their departure.

The great Seal of *England*, with other Ensigns of Majesty, were layed up in the Library; which afterward carryed to *London*, was by the command of Parliament (for the Parliament, when the great Seal three years before was carryed away to the King had made a new one) broken in pieces, together with the other smaller Seals.

Prince *Charles* about that time, distrusting the condition of his side, fled from *Silly*, with a few of his inward Counsellors, and went to *Jersey*; that from thence he might pass into *France* to the Queen his Mother. While the Prince remained in *Jersey*, the Commissioners both of *England* and *Scotland*, intreated the King that the Prince his Son might continue within his Dominions, lest if he should go into *France*, it might be inconvenient

at this time, and an obſtruction to the deſired peace; but the King promiſing them that he would think of it, wrote in the mean time this ſhort letter to the *Prince*.

CHarles, *I write to you only that you ſhould know where I am, and that I am in health, not to direct you at this time in any thing; for what I would have you do, I have already written to your Mother, to whom I would have you obedient in all things, except Religion, (about which I know ſhe will not trouble you,) and go no whither without her, or my Command, write often to me. God bleſs you:*

Your loving Father, C. R.

This Letter was intercepted going from *Newcaſtle* to *Jerſey* in a ſmall Veſſel, and read in Parliament, to their great grief.

Soon after the Surrender of *Oxford*, followed the end of this fierce War, for *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis*, and *Ragland* yielded alſo to the Conquerors. Peace now ſeemed to be reſtored to *England*, but they had no ſecurity; for the Parliament (having vanquiſhed the common Enemy) were grievouſly troubled with Factions among themſelves, and divided under the unhappy names of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; nor was it only in thoſe things which concerned Church-government; but in the tranſaction of almoſt all other buſineſſes, they debate fiercely, and were divided in their Votes.

The ſame difference (namely of *Presbyterian* and

and *Independent*) troubled not only the Parliament Houſe, but the City, the Country, and ſome of the Camps, ſeeming a thing that threatned danger; and the Parliament feared that *Maſſeys* Forces (which had deſerved very well of the Commonwealth) being quartered about the *Devizes*, might under that name make a Mutiny: wherefore General *Fairfax* was ſent from *Oxford* into the Weſt to disband (the War being ended) thoſe Forces of *Maſſey*, being two thouſand five hundred Horſe, which thing was quietly done within eight days; and all thoſe Souldiers, with ready obedience left their Colours, although they were not fully paid at that time; for which *Maſſey* (as for other things) was much commended in being careful, by adviſing his Souldiers, that this buſineſs without any difficulty ſhould be ſo ended.

The War being now quite finiſhed, *Fairfax*, the Victorious Preſerver of the *Engliſh* Parliament, returned to *London*, about the midſt of *November*. All good men longed to ſee that great Souldier, whom they could not but admire, by whoſe valour they were delivered from the worſt of evils, and were now in expectation of an happy peace.

The next day after he came to *London*; That he might ſee the gratitude of the Parliament, the Houſe of *Peers* ſent their Speaker, *Mancheſter*, whom the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, and many other Nobles accompanied; who congratulated his return, and gave him great thanks for his moſt faithful and happy ſervice to the Commonwealth.

When the Lords were gone, *Lenthal*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, with almoſt three-hundred Members of that Houſe, came to congratulate the General; to whom *Lenthal* made a ſpeech wherein he diſcourſed of the greatneſs of his actions, extolling them by examples of the moſt great and famous *Heroes* of ancient times. *You* (ſaid he) *noble General ſhall all poſterity admire and honour, and the people of* England, *ſince they can give you no thanks equal to your merits, do freely confeſs themſelves for ever indebted to you, as the happy inſtrument of God, and finiſher of our Wars with incredible ſucceſs:* To which the modeſt *Fairfax* made a ſhort reply, *Acknowledging himſelf unworthy of ſo great an honour; and giving moſt humble thanks to the Parliament; accounting it his greateſt happineſs in this World to be made by God inſtrumental for the good of his Country.*

But the General ſtaid not long at *London*, being preſently after ſent to carry the money for the Scots into the North; of which we ſhall ſpeak afterwards; in the mean time we will return to the King, and Scots.

On the ſixth of *May* 1646. long before the ſurrender of *Oxford*; when the Parliament of *England* underſtood that the King was with the Scots, when the Scots alſo had diſobeyed their Orders; which were, *That they ſhould detain the King at* Southwel, *and that* Aſhburnham, *with the reſt of his followers ſhould be ſent to* London (of which the Scots obeyed neither, letting *Aſhburnham*, and the reſt eſcape, and carrying the King into the North)

North) the Parliament, after a long debate of both Houſes, at laſt Voted, *That the perſon of the King ſhould be diſpoſed of by the authority of both Houſes of the Parliament of* England.

But the *Scots* excuſing themſelves, and denying to deliver up the King, a great diſſention hapned between the two Nations, which did much animate the Royaliſts and ſeemed dangerous to the two Kingdoms. Many complaints were made upon this occaſion, and many ſharp invective Writings on both ſides for the ſpace of divers months.

The Scots alleaged that he was no leſs King of *Scotland* then of *England*; and that therefore their Kingdom had ſome right to the diſpoſing of him; the Engliſh affirmed that his perſon was to be diſpoſed by the authority of that Kingdom in which he then was; but that they ſet forth, as a very ſtrange thing, *That a Scottiſh Army, paied by the Parliament of* England, *and which by the compact of both Kingdoms, was to be governed by Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms upon the place, ſhould notwithſtanding receive the King of* England *without the conſent or knowledg of the Engliſh Commiſſioners, and carry him away to* Newcaſtle, *a Town of* England, *and there keep him without the conſent of the Parliament of* England.

In the midſt of theſe great diſſentions; which notwithſtanding the prudence of ſome men did ſo well moderate (whilſt the common enemy and factious ſpirits ſought to aggravate them) that they proved not pernitious to the Kingdoms, the main

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buſineſs, and things neceſſary for the *Common good* were unanimouſly and friendly tranſacted by the two Nations: and among other things concerning the ſending of propoſitions to the King *for a firm and well grounded peace*, it was debated, and at laſt agreed, that nineteen Propoſitions (ſo many there were) ſhould be ſent to *Newcaſtle*, to the King; which becauſe they are long, and fully recited in a larger Hiſtory, I will not relate in this Epitome.

Theſe Propoſitions were ſent away to the King upon the fifteenth day of *July* one thouſand ſix hundred forty ſix, and preſented to his hands at *Newcaſtle* by the Commiſſioners of both Houſes of Parliament, namely the Earl of *Pembrook*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lord *Mountague* of the Peers; and ſix of the Houſe of Commons; the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* being preſent, and conſenting to them.

And that the King might conceive himſelf dealt withal like a King, not a vanquiſhed man, and a captive, this preface by the conſent of Parliaments of both Kingdoms was ſet before the Propoſitions.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE *the Lords and Commons aſſembled in the Parliament of* England, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdom of* England *and* Ireland; *and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *do humbly preſent unto your Majeſty the*

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humble desires and propositions for a safe and well grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively; unto which we do pray your Majesties assent: and that they, and all such Bills as shall be tendred to your Majesty in pursuance of them, or any of them, may be established, and enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament, by your Majesties Royal Assent, in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively.

The Lords and Commons, Commissioners of the Parliament of *England* staid long with the King at *Newcastle*, humbly entreating him that he would vouchsafe to sign and establish those Propositions, being not much higher then those, which had been offered to his Majesty at *Uxbridge*, when the change of War was yet doubtful; the same thing did the Commissioners of the Parliament in *Scotland* humbly entreat; and the like did others daily, who came with renewed supplications to that end from the Parliament sitting at *Edenburgh*.

But in vain were the supplications of both Kingdoms; the King persisted obstinately in denial of his Assent; but daily he seemed to take exceptions at some particulars, whereby time was delayed for some months, and the affairs of both Kingdoms much retarded, which hapned at an unseasonable time, when not only the dissentions between the two Nations about Garrisons, money, and other things were justly feared, but also in the Parliament of *England*, and City of *London*, the factions then encreasing between the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, from whence the common

enemy began to ſwell with hopes not improbable, and this perchance was the cauſe of the Kings delay.

But thoſe hopes of the enemy ſoon vaniſhed, and this very averſeneſs of the King did in ſome meaſure compoſe the diſſentions of the Parliaments; inſomuch as they began unanimouſly to conſult, how they might ſettle the affairs of both Kingdoms (ſince it could not otherwiſe be) without the King; Therefore it was debated in the Parliament of *England*, to pay the Scots for their aſſiſtance in this War, and at laſt agreed that the Scots ſhould receive four hundred thouſand pounds: half of that ſum; namely, two hundred thouſand pounds was to be paid in preſent, upon receipt of which the Scots were to deliver up *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, and *Newcaſtle* to the Parliament of *England*, according to the compact. It was alſo debated though with much time and difficulty, where the Kings perſon ſhould be diſpoſed, in caſe he did abſolutely and utterly deny his Aſſent to the Propoſitions; at which meeting it was freely granted by the Parliament to the Scots, that they might carry the King (if they pleaſed) to *Edenburgh*; but that the Scots refuſed; affirming that by his preſence in an unſetled Kingdom, new commotions might ariſe; they rather deſired (which was alſo the Kings deſire) that he might be carryed into the Southern parts of *England* and live in ſome of his Palaces neer *London*, which they thought more convenient for treating of a peace; as if *England* were not in the ſame danger by his preſence

ſence. So that in all that whole debate they ſeemed to contend, not who ſhould have the King, but who ſhould not have him.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, and the King daily was humbly entreated by both Kingdoms to grant his Aſſent to theſe Propoſitions; the Earl of *Louden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, about the end of *Auguſt*, when the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms were preſent, made an Oration to the King, which becauſe it opens the buſineſs in ſome meaſure, ſhall be recited.

YOur Majeſty was pleaſed on Monday laſt to call the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of Scotland, *and imparting the Propoſitions to them, to promiſe that you would likewiſe impart your Anſwer before you ſent it; but ſo ſhort is the Commiſſioners prefixed time, and of ſo great moment (either to the ſafety or ruin of your Crown and Kingdoms) is your Majeſties Anſwer; that we ſhould be wanting both to God, and our own truſt, if we ſhould not repreſent to your Majeſty how neceſſary it is (in this conjuncture of time) That you grant your Aſſent to theſe Propoſitions; and what an incurable malady, and ſudden ruin muſt needs follow upon your denial. I ſhall begin with the diſeaſe, and ſpeak after of the remedy: The differences betwixt your Majeſty and Parliament (known better to no man then your ſelf) are at this time ſo high, that (after ſo many bloody Battels) no compoſure can be made, nor a more certain ruin avoided, without a preſent pacification. The Parliament are in poſſeſſion of your Navy, of all the Towns, Caſtles and Forts of*

England

England; *they enjoy, beſides Sequeſtrations, your Revenue. Souldiers & monies are raiſed by their Authority, and after ſo many Victories and Succeſſes, they have a ſtanding ſtrong Army; who, for their ſtrength are able to act any thing in Church or Common-wealth at their own pleaſure. Beſides there are ſome ſo fearful, others ſo unwilling to ſubmit to your Majeſty, that they deſire neither your ſelf, nor any of your Iſſue to Reign over them. The People weary of War, and groaning under taxes, though they deſire Peace, yet are ſo much againſt the pulling down of Monarchy (under which they have long flouriſhed) that they which are weary of your Government, dare not go about to throw it off, until they have (once at leaſt) offered Propoſitions of Peace to your Majeſty; leſt the vulgar (without whoſe concurrence they cannot perfect the Work) ſhould fall from them. Therefore when the whole People, weary of War, deſire ſecurity from preſſures, and arbitrary rule: the moſt Honourable Houſes of Parliament have conſented to offer theſe Propoſitions to your Majeſty, without which the greater part of the people do ſuppoſe the Kingdom can neither enjoy Peace nor Safety; therefore your Majeſties friends, and the Commiſſioners of* Scotland, *though not without ſome reluctation, were forced to conſent to the ſending of theſe Propoſitions (for elſe none had been ſent;) or elſe incur the publick hatred, as enemies to Peace. Now Sir if your Majeſty (which God forbid) ſhould deny to ſign theſe Propoſitions; you would loſe all your friends, both City and Country; and all* England *as one man would riſe up againſt you; it may then be feared (all hope of reconciliation being taken away) that they may*

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cite you, depoſe you, and ſet up another Covernment. Moreover they will require of us to deliver your Majeſty to them, to reſtore their Garriſon Towns, and carry our Army out of England. *Laſtly, if your Majeſty perſiſt in denying, both Kingdoms will be compelled to agree together for their mutual ſafety, to ſettle Religion and peace without you, which (to our unſpeakable grief) would ruin your Majeſty, and your Poſterity. But if your Majeſty ſhall deſpiſe the councel of us (who wiſh nothing more upon earth then the eſtabliſhing of your Majeſties Throne) and by obſtinacy loſe* England, *your Majeſty will not be ſuffered to enter* Scotland, *and ruin that. Sir, We have laid our hands upon our hearts, we have prayed to God to direct us, and have ſeriouſly conſidered of the remedy for theſe miſchiefs, but we can find nothing elſe (as the caſe now ſtands) which can preſerve your Crown and Kingdoms, then that your Majeſty ſhould ſign theſe Propoſitions; in ſome things (we confeſs) they are higher then we (if our wiſh might have gone) would have made them; but ſeeing that no other way is left to cure the Kingdoms wounds, and conſolidate the ruptures between your Majeſty and the Parliament: We do in all humility and loyalty adviſe your Majeſty, that out of your gracious goodneſs, you would aſſent to them, as being the only remedy left to procure a firm and happy peace, from whence alſo many happineſſes will accrue to you, &c.*

But neither this Oration of *Louden*, nor all the endeavours of both Parliaments could alter the Kings mind; yet did not the Commiſſioners give over their hopes, but perſiſted in intreating; ſo that many months were ſpent in this buſineſs, and

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the time conſumed till the midſt of Winter, in which ſpace they could not perſwade the King to hear any Miniſters of the Synod preach before him, being conſtant only to his own Chaplains.

Upon which they began to endeavour that amity might be preſerved between the two Nations; and that the two Kingdoms (things ſtanding as they did) might be peaceably ſetled without the King.

Therefore after ſome debate between the Parliament of *England*, and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, they at the laſt agreed upon the aforeſaid ſum; namely, that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be forthwith paid to the Scots; which money being told out, was by General *Fairfax*, with part of his Forces conveyed out of *London*, who afterwards committed the buſineſs to Major General *Skippon*. He with ſix Regiments marched away in the midſt of Winter, and in *January* came to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* with the money.

The Scots, when they had received their money, according to the compact, delivered up the Engliſh Garriſons, *Berwick*, *Carliſle*, and *Newcaſtle* into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home into *Scotland*; they delivered alſo the King to the Engliſh Commiſſioners to be carryed into the South, Who was received with great reſpect and honour, by the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Denbigh*, and the reſt of the Parliament Commiſſioners, and by them waited on with great obſervance, and an honoura-

honourable guard to his Palace of *Holmby* in Northamptonſhire. Theſe things were done in the month of *February*, at which time the Earl of *Stanford*, Maſter *Goodwin*, and Maſter *Aſhhurſt* of the Houſe of Commons were ſent Commiſſioners by the Parliament into *Scotland*, that at *Edenburgh* they might treat with the Scottiſh Parliament about the common affairs.

Though the Kings party, which had fought againſt their Parliament and Liberties, were abſolutely ſubdued; yet a quiet liberty and ſecurity could not be ſuddenly obtained by the victory. For the Civil War being ended, a diſſention more then Civil aroſe among the Conquerors, which ſeemed therefore more ſad to all good men, becauſe it was between thoſe, who before had with moſt united affections and deſires, thrown their lives and Fortunes into the hazard againſt a Common Enemy; whom the ſame cauſe, the ſame fervour of reforming Religion, and reſtoring liberty; and the ſame Prayers had linked together in the neareſt bond of conſcience.

By this diviſion, under the names of *Presbyterian* and *Independant*, ſtill encreaſing, the minds of men began beyond all meaſure, to be embittered againſt each other; one ſide complained that the Covenant was broken: the other, that it was not rightly enterpreted by them, nor ſo, as that it could any way be a vindication of the cauſe undertaken, or the publick Safety; on both ſides were men of great reputation.

Yet did they not at firſt ſo far diſſent, but that both

both ſides ſeemed forward to vindicate the Common cauſe againſt the Kings Party, called Malignants. It muſt be a longer time, that muſt by degrees ſo far work upon the conſciences of that ſide, which ſeemed weakeſt, as to make them cleave to the Malignants for a Prop. The Malignants were ready to joyn with either ſide, that they might ruin both. They themſelves (though diſarmed) being now the greateſt number; eſpecially by reaſon of the unconſtancy of many men, either upon particular grievances, or the burden of Taxations. A great number of the Citizens of *London*, not of the meaneſt, but higheſt rank, had revolted from their former Principles; inſomuch as that City (all the Kings Garriſons being by *Fairfax* his bloodleſs Victories emptied thither) became to be of that condition, as that the Parliament, without the Armies help, could not ſafely ſit there. Theſe diſſentions of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* (becauſe the motives and intentions of men are not enough known) our purpoſe is to touch with more brevity then the actions of open War, and plain Hoſtility, though they alſo are here ſhortly mentioned.

It were a work of too much length and difficulty, to recite how many Calumnies were raiſed by the other faction againſt the Army (before ſo much admired) as maintainers of the *Independent* faction. How divers Petitions were drawn up, and ſubſcriptions eagerly ſought in the County of *Eſſex*, againſt this Army; which was then quartered about *Walden*, in the month of *April*. And in the Parlia-

Parliament it ſelf it was ſo far, and in that manner debated concerning disbanding of that Army; that they (being now taught to value their own merits) conceived themſelves much injured; and in the month of *May*, preſented a Petition to their General. In which they deſire to be ſatisfied, not only for their due pay, as Souldiers, but in things concerning (belonging to them as free-born ſons of the Nation) the publick liberties, which they had fought for. Of which Petition great complaint was made by thoſe of the other Faction. Theſe and ſome other Alterations wrought at laſt ſo far, as that the Souldiers, about the beginning of *June* (upon what deſign, or what jealouſies I leave to Judge) took away the King from *Holmby*, out of the Parliament-Commiſſioners hands, and carryed him along with them in the Army. So that his perſon was to be in ſome Town, or Palace neer to their Quarters. When this was known, it was ordered by both Houſes of Parliament (and their order ſent to the General.)

1. *That the King ſhould reſide at* Richmond.

2. *That he ſhould be attended by the ſame perſons that he was at* Holmby.

3. *That* Roſſiters *Regiment ſhould guard him.*

But the next day from the General, and his Councel of Officers was brought to the Parliament an Impeachment againſt eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons, *viz.* (honoured names many of them) *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Waller*, *Glyn*, *Maſſey*, *Maynard*, *Lewis*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Harley*, and *Nichols*; wherein divers things were objected concern-

concerning hindering the Relief of *Ireland*, obſtructing Juſtice, and acting ſomewhat againſt the Army, and the Laws of *England*. The Impeached Members declared themſelves ready to anſwer to any crime that could be objected againſt them. But another requeſt came from the Army, that thoſe Impeached Members, until they had brought in their anſwer, might be ſecluded from their Seats in Parliament. This at the firſt was not granted as a thing judged to be too high, and too much againſt the Priviledge of Parliament. But when the Army iterated their deſire, thoſe accuſed Members, by leave of the Parliament, made a voluntary Seceſſion for ſix months. Concerning that order of Parliament, that the King ſhould go to *Richmond*, the Gen. deſired to be excuſed; intreating them not to command that, until things were more qniet; and that they would appoint no Reſidence for the King nearer to *London*, then they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be. After which the King was conveied to *Roiſton*; thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Cauſum*, while the Army quartered at *Reading*. From whence, when the Gen. with his Army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedfords* Houſe near *Ouborn*.

About that time was rumoured a very dangerous conſpiracy in *London*, of Citizens, Apprentices, and others againſt the Army; namely, that many Citizens, and Apprentices, and other people had privately liſted themſelves to make a force againſt the Army. The Gen. hearing this, certified

ſted the Cities Commiſſioners, who were then with him at the Head-quarters, of it. Who made haſt to *London*, to examine and quiet thoſe troubles; But at that time between the two embittered Factions, nothing but ſuſpitions and tumults could be. Theſe Jealouſies daily encreaſing, on *July* 22 the Parliament made an Order to change that *Militia* of the City, which had been eſtabliſhed upon the fourth of *May*, and put others, which were better affected to the Army, in their Rooms. Upon which order, the Citizens of that faction were wonderfully incenſed, and petitioned the Houſe on the twenty ſix of *July*. Which being read, ſeemed rather a command then a Petition. This was carried, and followed by a diſſolute multitude of Citizens, Apprentiſes, and other unruly perſons, who preſſed to the very doors of the Parliament; and cried out in a threatning way, that before the Houſe riſe, they muſt order according to their Petition; and ſo far did their violence prevail, that they extorted an order for the re-eſtabliſhing of the former *Militia*. But not content with that, when the Houſe was riſing, they took the Speaker, and rudely thruſt him again into his chair, detaining both him, and the reſt of the Members there, (an unheard of violation of Parliament!) until they enforced from them another Order, which was, *That the King ſhould come to* London.

After this rude violation; the Houſes adjourned until *Friday* next, which was the thirtieth of *July*. Upon which day, both the Speakers being

abſent, (for they with the greateſt part of the Members had left *London*, and withdrawn themſelves to the Army) new Speakers were choſen, the Lord *Hunſdon*, and Maſter *Henry Pelham* a Barreſter, by whom Orders were made that day;

1. *That the King ſhould come to* London.

2. *That the Militia of* London *ſhould be authorized to raiſe Forces for defence of the City.*

3. *Power was given to the ſame Militia to chooſe a General for thoſe Forces.*

It was likewiſe Ordered that the aforeſaid Eleven Members, Impeached by the Army, ſhould return to their ſeats in Parliament.

The Citizens armed with theſe Orders, preſently proceed to raiſing of Forces, of which they Elected *Maſſey* to be their General.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons, who had left *London*, conſulting with the General and Chief Commanders of the Army, made an Order, *That all Acts and Decrees, that had paſſed on the* 26. *of* July, *and ſince, ſhould be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Councel of the Army. It was likewiſe Decreed, that the General with his Army ſhould march to* London.

But when the Citizens heard of the Armies approach, their ſtomacks being ſomewhat abated, and their opinions ſo much divided in Common Councel, that it appeared impoſſible for them ſuddenly to raiſe any forces to oppoſe the Army; they ſent to the General for a Pacification, which (by the conſent of the Members

of

of Parliament then with him) was granted to them, upon theſe conditions;

1. *That they ſhould deſert the Parliament now ſitting, and the Eleven Impeached Members.*

2. *That they ſhould recal their Declaration lately divulged.*

3. *They ſhould relinquiſh their preſent* Militia.

4. *They ſhould deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London.

5. *They ſhould disband all the Forces they had raiſed.*

And do all things elſe which were neceſſary for the Publick tranquillity. All which things none of them daring to deny, were preſently ratified.

On the ſixth day of *Auguſt* the General with his Army came to *Weſtminſter*, and with him the Speakers of both Houſes, together with the reſt of the Lords and Commons; whom he reſtored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers, in the name of the whole Parliament, gave thanks to the General; they made him Commander of all the Forces in *England*, and in *Wales*, and Conſtable of the Tower of *London*: a moneths pay was likewiſe given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon*, and the reſt of the Commanders, with the whole Army, marched through *London*, from the Weſtern part thereof, to the Tower; where ſome Commands were changed, and the *Militia*, otherwiſe ſetled. Then leaſt the City ſhould ſwell with too much

power, her *Militia* by Order of Parliament, was divided, and Authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark* and the *Hamblets* about the Tower to exercise and command their own *Militiaes*.

Thus was the *Presbyterian* faction depressed; and the Parliament thus restored, were very intent upon the business of annulling all those Acts, which in their absence, and by that tumultuous violence had been made, and in punishing the Authors of those Seditions.

F I N I S.

Book III.

A Short mention of the Original and Progress of the Second War.

THE Parliament restored, the *Militia* of *London* setled, and the other Commands fitly disposed, the General *Fairfax* Marched out of *London*, and Quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about *White-hall* and the *Mews* to Guard the Parliament, his Head Quarters being at *Putney*; the King about the middle of *August*,

guſt, was brought to the moſt ſtately of all his Palaces, *Hampton Court*.

While the King remained at *Hampton Court*, he ſeemed not at all a reſtrained man, but a Prince living in the Splendor of a Court, ſo freely to his preſence were all ſorts of people admitted, to Kiſs his Hands, and do all Obeyſances whatſoever. None were forbidden to wait upon him. Nor did the people from *London* only, and the adjacent Towns reſort to the King, but his Servants alſo from beyond the Seas, even thoſe, who by Order of Parliament had been forbidden, and Voted Delinquents, ſuch as *Aſhburnham*, *Barkley*, and the reſt, who now by the permiſſion of the Army, had ſafe recourſe to him. But upon what reaſons, or deſign this permiſſion was, many wondred.

Stirred up by theſe examples (if not ſent for by the King) the Lords formerly of his Councel at *Oxford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſs Hartford, the Earls of *Southhampton* and *Dorſet*, with the Lord *Seymor*, about the beginning of *October*, came to the King; as if to conſult and give their advice to him concerning the Propoſitions of Parliament, or other buſineſs. The Parliament were diſpleaſed at this thing; neither would the Army long ſuffer it, conſidering that the King had not yet in any thing at all given ſatisfaction to the Parliament. Whereupon thoſe Lords being told of it, after two days ſtay at *Hampton Court*, returned to their own houſes.

On the ſeventh day of *September*, Propoſiti-

ons agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament (the Commiſſioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring alſo) were ſent to the King at *Hampton-Court*. To which they did humbly beſeech his Majeſty, that he would give his anſwer within ſix days. The Commiſſioners appointed for this buſineſs, of the Parliament of *England*, were the Earl of *Pembrook*, Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major General *Brown*. For the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Charls Erskins*.

The King, although he denyed (as before) to grant the Propoſitions, wrote notwithſtanding an Anſwer to the Parliament, in which he ſays, That to ſome things he can Aſſent; namely about eſtabliſhing Presbyterie for 3 years; about granting the *Militia*, as it was before offered to him. But in the other things he muſt altogether diſſent. He affirms that he could rather hearken to the Propoſals of the Army, (for the Army had lately publiſhed ſome Propoſals, in the manner of the Parliament Propoſitions, about ſetling the peace of the Kingdom) and deſired the Parliament that they would conſider of thoſe Propoſals.

The Parliament, not yet deterred by theſe often denyals of the King, fell upon debate about making Propoſitions to him again. When the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* reſiding at *London* (after that *Louden* and *Lanerick*, who came newly out of *Scotland*, had talked privately with the King at *Hampton-Court*) ſent Letters to the Parliament;

liament; in which they require that the King may come to *London*, and then perſonally treat with the Parliament about the things controverted; thoſe very *Scots*, who not long before, both in their Orations and Letters, *Denied it to be juſt, or convenient for the Common-wealth, that the King, before he had given ſaisfaction and ſecurity to the People, ſhould be admitted to* London, *or to any Perſonal Treaty with the Parliament*. Thoſe very *Scots*, who denyed to receive the King into *Scotland*, for fear he might raiſe commotions in their Country, would now have him brought to *London*, a City filled with Malignants, and fit for any Tumults, in which the Parliament it ſelf, without the guard of an Army, could not ſafely ſit. That which moved them to this demand (as they alleaged) was becauſe the King had been taken from *Holmby* againſt his will, and without the conſent of Parliament, by the violence of Soldiers, and ſtill remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom, which was thought fit for a King, treating about a buſineſs of ſo great moment.

At the end of their Epiſtle they ſeem content that he may ſtay (if *London* be denyed) at *Hampton-Court*, ſo he be not under the power of the Army; but in ſuch a condition, as that the Commiſſioners of both Parliaments may have a free recourſe to him. But the Parliament were again framing Propoſitions (with ſome alterations) to be ſent to the King, when lo, on a ſudden they were ſtrucken with an unexpected Meſſage, That

the King was privily fled out of *Hampton-Court*: To which purpoſe Letters came about midnight from *Cromwel* to the Speaker. For on the twelfth day of *November*, whileſt the Commiſſioners of Parliament, and Colonel *Whaley*, who commanded the Guard, expected when the King ſhould come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondered at his long ſtay; at laſt about nine of the clock, ſome of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his cloak left there, and a letter written with his own hand to the Commiſſioners, to be by them communicated to both Houſes of Parliament; in which letters, after he had diſcourſed ſomewhat about captivity, and the ſweetneſs of liberty; he proteſted, as before God, that he had not taken this deſign of withdrawing himſelf, to diſturb the publick peace, or any treaty tending to the eſtabliſhment thereof: but only to preſerve his own ſafety, againſt which he underſtood there was a treaſonable conſpiracy. But toward the end of his Letter, he uſeth theſe words; *Now as I cannot deny, but that my perſonal ſecurity is the ur ent cauſe of this my retir.ment: ſo I take God to witneſs, that the Publick Peace is no leſs before mine eyes. And I can find no better way to expreſs this my profeſſion; (I know not what a wiſer man may do) then by deſiring and urging that all chief Intereſts may be heard, to the end each may have juſt ſatisfaction; as for example, The Army (for the reſt, though neceſſary, yet I ſuppoſe are not difficult to conſent) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, and have an Act of Oblivion,*

Oblivion, or Indempnity (which ſhould extend to the reſt of all my Subjects) and that all their Arrears ſhould be ſpeedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, ſo I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from uſing ſuch lawful, and honeſt means as I ſhall chooſe. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, Honor, and Safety, and I ſhall inſtantly break through this cloud of retirement, and ſhew my ſelf ready to be

Pater Patriæ Charles Rex.

But the *Parliament* being much at firſt troubled with this unexpected news of the Kings departure, at laſt, leaſt the Kingdoms peace ſhould thereby be diſturbed, they ordered that men of fidelity ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to all the Sea ports; leaſt the King ſhould paſs into any forrein Countrey. And when tidings (though falſe) were brought unto them, that the King was concealed within the City of *London*; they ordered, *That if any man ſhould cloſely detain the Kings Perſon, and not reveal it to the Parliament, he ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of his Eſtate and life.*

This cloud ſoon diſſolved, and the Parliament were informed by Colonel *Hammond* (who was newly, by conſent of both Houſes, made Governour of the Ile of Wight) that the King was come into that Iland, and had delivered himſelf into his protection. *Hammond* ſignified himſelf to be ready to obey the Parliament-Commands in all things; the Parliament commending *Hammond*, did alſo command him with all diligence to guard the King; but to wait upon him with

all

all reſpect and honour, promiſing that they would take care that proviſions of every kind ſhould not be wanting, nor money to defray the Kings expences.

While the Parliament were again deliberating about Propoſitions to be ſent to the King in the Ile of *Wight*; a Letter of great length from the King, ſuperſcribed to the Speaker of the Lords Houſe, to be communicated alſo to the Houſe of Commons, was read upon the eighteenth day of *November*. In which he delivered his ſenſe and opinion concerning many things conteined in the former propoſitions; eſpecially concerning the abolition of Epiſcopacy; he diſputed out of the dictates of his conſcience much, and gave touches alſo of the other matters. Of all which he hoped that he ſhould ſatisfy the Parliament with his Reaſons, if he might perſonally treat with them. Therefore he earneſtly deſired to be admitted with Honor, Freedom, and Safety, to treat perſonally at *London*; the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* with great vehemence alſo preſſed that this deſire of the King might be granted.

The Parliament weighing theſe things, leaſt they ſhould betray themſelves and their friends by admitting of a perſonal Treaty with the King in *London*, ſo Malignant a City, before he had given any ſatisfaction or ſecurity (which was before the Scots opinion) after ſo many miſchiefs done to the Commonwealth; reſolved upon a middle way.

There-

Therefore after a long debate on the twenty ſixth of *November*, they concluded that four Propoſitions, being drawn up into the form of Acts, ſhould be ſent to the King in the Iſle of *Wight*, to Sign; which when he had Signed, he ſhould be admitted to a perſonal Treaty at *London*; that His Majeſty giving the Kingdom ſecurity by paſſing theſe four Propoſitions, there may be a perſonal Treaty with His Majeſty, for paſſing the reſt of the propoſitions. The four were theſe,

1. *That a Bill be paſſed into an Act by his Majeſty for ſetling of the* Militia *of the Kingdom.*

2. *That a Bill be paſſed for His Majeſties calling in of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations againſt the Parliament, and thoſe who have adhered to them.*

3. *For paſſing an Act, that thoſe Lords who were made after the Great Seal was carried to* Oxford, *may be made uncapable of Sitting in the Houſe of Peers thereby.*

4. *That Power may be given to the Two Houſes of Parliament, to adjourn as the Two Houſes of Parliament ſhall think fit.*

The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* would in no wiſe give their conſent that theſe four Bills ſhould be ſent to the King, before he treated at *London*; therefore in a very long Declaration they proteſted againſt it. Notwithſtanding that, the Bills were ſent by Commiſſioners of Both Houſes of Parliament. And on the twenty fourth of *December*, preſented to the King at *Carisbrook* Caſtle. But the King underſtanding the mind of the Scots,

Scots, and the factions in *London*, abſolutely refuſed to ſign thoſe Propoſitions, and the Commiſſioners with this denyal returned to *London*.

On the third of *January*, the Houſe of Commons debated of this denyal of the King; the diſpute was ſharp, vehement, and high about the State and Government of the Commonwealth; and many plain Speeches made of the Kings obſtinate averſneſs, and the peoples too long patience; it was there affirmed, that the King by this denyal had denyed his Protection to the People of *England*, for which only ſubjection is due from them; that one being taken away, the other falls to the ground. That it is very unjuſt and abſurd that the Parliament (having ſo often tryed the Kings affections) ſhould now betray to an implacable enemy, both themſelves and all thoſe friends, who in a moſt juſt cauſe had valiantly adventured their lives and fortune; that nothing was now left for them to do, but to take care for the ſafety of themſelves and their friends, and ſettle the Common-wealth (ſince otherwiſe it could not be) without the King.

Therefore on the 17. of *January*, a Declaration and Votes paſſed both Houſes of Parliament in this manner.

The Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, after many Addreſſes to his Majeſty for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raiſed by him againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, having

ing lately ſent Four Bills to his Majeſty, which did contain only matter of ſafety and ſecurity to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the compoſure of other differences to a Perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty; and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavors, ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way as may bring the greateſt ſecurity to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in Order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no delay nor interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a work, they have taken theſe reſolutions, and paſſed theſe Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare thet they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.

Reſolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that no application or addreſs be made to the King by any perſon whatſoever, without the leave of both Houſes.

Reſolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That the Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the penalty of High Treaſon.

Reſolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King: and do enjoyn, that no perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other perſon.

Within

Within few days after these Votes of Parliament were published, a Declaration of the General, and General Councel of the Army, (their Head quarters being then at *Windsor*) was made and humbly presented to the Parliament, for which Declaration thanks were returned from the Parliament to the General, and Councel of the Army, which take in the full expression.

A Declaration from his Excellency Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the General Council of the Army, of their Resolutions to adhere to the Parliament in their proceedings concerning the King.

NOtwithstanding the high violations of the Kingdoms Rights and Liberties, and the endeavors to swallow up the whole interest of the Kingdom, into the power and will of a King, which the present Kings Reign hath afforded; we have observed that the Parliament was (through his necessities) and against his declared intentions to the contrary called, but in a condition of vindicating the Kingdom in those things, hath yet enacted with that tenderness towards the King, (as to any thing of Right that might be in him, or duty towards him) as that in the Protestation, Covenant, and many Declarations published by them; that have held forth a careful regard to the preservation of the Kings person, and just rights; with; and in the preservation and vindication of the publick interests and safety of the Kingdom, and by the

whole

whole ſervice of their actions, and their manifold humble addreſſes to him for the preſervation and ſettlement of all, They have, we conceive, abundantly demonſtrated the reality and innocency of their intentions towards him: In all which, we have ſtill underſtood the ſence and intention to be no other, then that the preſervation of the Kings perſon, and particular rights, ſhould be ſo indeavored, as it might be conſiſtent with, and not deſtructive to thoſe great and more obliging publick intereſts of Religion, and the rights, liberties, and ſafety of the Kingdom, and not otherwiſe.

And accordingly, in the late Declarations and papers that have occaſionally paſt from this Army, as to our deſires of ſettlement to the Kingdom, we have expreſſed our real wiſhes, that if the King would in things neceſſary, and eſſential to the clearing, ſetling, and ſecuring of thoſe publick intereſts give his concurrence to put them paſt future diſputes, then his rights ſhould be conſidered and ſetled, ſo far as might be conſiſtent with thoſe ſuperior intereſts of the publick, and the ſecurity thereof for future.

And that by an addreſs to the King upon things ſo purely eſſential to thoſe publick ends, it might once more come to a clear Trial, whether we could, with the preſervation of the Kings perſon, and particular intereſts, have a ſecurity to the other, hath been our earneſt deſire, our great expectation, and our indeavor, that we and others might be in a patient waiting for ſuch an iſſue.

Now in the Parliaments laſt addreſſes to the King, we find they have inſiſted only upon ſome few things,

ſo eſſential to that intereſt of the Kingdim, which they have hitherto engaged for; as that without betraying the ſafety of the Kingdom, and themſelves, and all that engaged with them in that cauſe; without denying that, which God in the iſſue of the war hath been ſuch a teſtimony unto, they could not go lower, (and thoſe things granted) they have offered to treat for all the reſt.

Thus we account that great buſineſs of a ſettlement to the Kingdom, and ſecurity to the publick intereſt thereof, by and with the Kings Concurrence, to be brought unto ſo clear a trial, as that (upon the Kings denyal of thoſe things) we can ſee no further hopes of ſettlement or ſecurity that way.

And therefore underſtanding that upon the conſideration of that denial, added to ſo many other. The Honorable Houſe of Commons, by ſeveral Votes upon Monday laſt, have reſolved not to make any further addreſs or application to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to ſuffer either in others.

We do freely declare for our ſelves, and the Army, that we are reſolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and ſtand by the Parliament, in the things voted laſt Monday concerning the King, and in what ſhall be further neceſſary for proſecution thereof, and for ſetling and ſecuring of the Parliament, and Kingdom without the King, and againſt him, or any other that ſhall hereafter partake with him.

Windſor Jan. 9. 1647.

The Parliament alſo made a publick Declaration about the beginning of *February*, for ſatisfaction of all men in general, concerning the cauſes of their Votes; in which (beſides the Kings former miſdeeds, related before in other Remonſtrances) they Declare how often they had treated with him, that, although they were never forced to any Treaty, yet no leſs then ſeven times they had applyed themſelves to the King with Propoſitions containing nothing but what was neceſſary to the peace and ſecurity of the Kingdom. How they had offered him Propoſitions at *Oxford*, afterwards at *Uxbridge*, and then (after he was quite vanquiſhed in War) at *Newcaſtle*; and laſtly, after the departure of the *Scots*, at *Hampton Court*. All which had been perpetually denyed by him.

By ſuch a Declaration did the Parliament endeavor to appeaſe the unquiet minds of people; but no Arguments nor Decrees could ſerve to aſſwage their fury, nor prevent the ſtorms which were then ariſing. Force only was required and wiſe councel to ſearch out conſpiracies, and ſuppreſs the Tumults which were feared. Therefore part of the Army was quartered about *Weſtminſter*, the *Mews*, and other places of the City: And the Moneth before theſe high tranſactions, ſome Lords and Commons were choſen out of both Houſes to be a Committee for the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and ſate together at *Derby* Houſe, in the ſame place where the Committee of both Kingdoms (*England* and *Scotland*)

had ſitten before. To this Committee power was given to ſuppreſs tumults and inſurrections, and to that purpoſe to raiſe forces as they ſaw occaſion.

The Members of this Committee were ſeven Lords; namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick*, and *Mancheſter*, the Lords *Say*, *Wharton*, and *Roberts*; and Thirteen of the Houſe of Commons; Mr. *Perpoint*, Mr. *Fines*, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, and Junior, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *John Evelin*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Brown*.

The Parliament, though victorious, though guarded with a gallant Army, no forces viſibly appearing againſt it, yet was never in more danger. All men began in the Spring to prophecy, that the Summer would be a hot one, in reſpect of Wars, ſeeing how the Countries were divided in Factions, the *Scots* full of threats, the City of *London* as full of unquietneſs. And more ſad things were feared, where leaſt was ſeen; rumors every day frighting the people of ſecret plots, and treaſonable meetings. From whence every man began to foreſee ſlaughter and War, as Marriners uſe to foreſee a riſing tempeſt.

---- *Cum longo per multa volumina tractu*
Æſtuat unda minax, flatuſq; incerta futuri,
Turbida teſtantur conceptos æquora ventos.

The threatning Waves in tracts voluminous
Boil up; the Seas by blaſts uncertain blown,
Betoken many Windes conception.

The

The Kings Party began to ſwell with great hopes, and look upon themſelves not as vanquiſhed, but Conquerors; nor could they forbear vaunting every where, but talked of the Kings riſing, and ruin of the Parliament. The ſame thing ſeemed to be the wiſh of thoſe whom they called Presbyterians, who were ready to ſacrifice themſelves and their cauſe to their hatred, againſt the Independents; who wiſhed that quite undone, which themſelves could not do; and deſired that liberty might be quite taken away by the King, rather then vindicated by the Independents.

The King himſelf, though ſet aſide, and confined within the Iſle of *Wight*, was more formidable this Summer, then in any other, when he was followed by his ſtrongeſt Armies. The name of King had now a farther operation, and pity of the Vulgar gave a greater Majeſty to his Perſon. Prince *Charls* alſo by his abſence, and the name of baniſhment was more deſirable by thoſe Vulgar People, and by his Commiſſions (which his Father privately ſent him) as if armed with lawful Power, did eaſily command thoſe that were willing; and by commands under his name was able to raiſe (as will afterward appear) not only Tumults, but Wars.

The beginning was by Tumults, and in the City, from whence alſo the following Inſurrections in the neer Counties had their Original; and was by Apprentices, and looſe young people playing in *More-fields* upon a Sunday the 9th day of *April*, who deſpiſing the Authority of Magiſtrates, ſet upon a Captain of the trained Bands, and with ſtones beat him out of the fields; and taking away his Colors, with them they marched, a diſorderly rout (gathering up many of the ſcumm of the People as they paſſed) to *Weſtminſter*; crying out as they went, that they were for King *Charls*. But they by a Troop of Horſe out of the Mews were quickly ſcattered. But running back, and getting into *London* (while other diſorderly fellows came in to them) they remained all night in a whole Body, filling the City with fears; ſo that the Lo. Major, a man cordial to the Parliament, was enforced to eſcape privily out of his Houſe, and fly into the Tower: In the morning General *Fairfax*, to cruſh this miſchief in the beginning, before the wound were grown incurable, by the concourſe of wicked men, ſent a part of his Army into the City. Who vanquiſhing the *Seditious*, and driving them into *Leaden*

Hall (of whom some they carried away prisoners) with great valor, and no less prudence quieted the Tumult. For delivering the City from so horrid a danger, thanks were given to the General, both by the Parliament, and the honest sober Citizens; and a thousand pounds in money given as a gratuity to the Soldiers.

In the very Petitions also, at that Malignant time, nothing but sedition, and War was contained; as appeared in those of *Surrey* and *Kent*. From *Surrey* about three hundred came to *Westminster* on the twenty six of *May*, bringing a Petition to the Parliament, in which they did not so much entreat, as command, in high words, *That the King should presently be restored to his former dignity, and come to Westminster with Honor, Freedom and safety, to treat personally there about all Controversies; that the Army should presently be disbanded, and the free people of* England *be governed by their known Laws and Statutes*; with other things of this nature. Nor would these *Surrey* men, that brought the Petition, endure any delay, no not so much as till the Parliament could debate about it; but being extreme insolent, cursing, and railing openly at the Parliament, they set upon the Soldiers, who were their Guard; of whom some they hurt, and one they killed. Upon which a Troop of Horse from the Mews, and some Foot were sent for to help their Fellows, who soon vanquished and scattered those Country fellows, and slew some of them. This was the end of that seditious Petition of *Surrey*.

At that time the Kentish men were coming with a Petition of that nature, who being in number of a good Army, seemed afar off to threaten the Parliament. They had been the more stirred, by reason of a severe punishment of some of their country men, who had lately raised a sedition about *Canterbury*; Against these Kentish men the Parliament provided no smaller defence then the General *Fairfax* himself, who with seven Regiments marched away to *Black Heath* near *Greenwich*; of whose success we shall speak afterwards.

The Parliament had before designed, that General *Fairfax* should march into the North to defend those parts; but nearer dangers detained him in the South. For at this time scarce any part of *England* was quiet; in every place tumults, insurrections, and Wars were threatned. To quell all these, (which was wonderful) one only Army sufficed, by the great-

bleſſing of God upon it. Which Army, as when it was conjoyned, in one year, *Anno Dom.* 1646. it quite vanquiſhed and broke all the Kings floriſhing ſtrength, and reduced the Kingdom to the obedience of Parliament; ſo at this time with no leſs fortitude and felicity, being divided into parts, in all corners of the Kingdom it continued victorious; ſo that fortitude and fortune might ſeem in that Army (as the ſoul in an humane body) to be all in the whole, and all in every part. For beſides thoſe light, and ſoon ſuppreſſed inſurrections of *Suffolk* in the Eaſt, and of *Stamford* in the mid-land parts, by Col. *Wait* and others, and of *Cornwal* in the Weſt by Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*, more great and formidable inſurrections happened in the Northern parts, and in *Wales*.

In the beginning of *May* the North was infeſted by ſome of the Kings Commanders; Sir *Thomas Glenham*, who had before governed ſo many Garriſons of the Kings, as *Carliſle*, *York*, and *Oxford*; and loſt them all; had now, with no better ſucceſs, ſeized upon *Carliſle*. And at the ſame time Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* (of whom we ſpake before) had ſeized upon *Berwick*, and fortified it. The ſtrong Caſtle alſo of *Pomfret* was then taken by the Royaliſts, who by treachery had ſlain the Governor thereof. To manage theſe Wars in the North, *Lambert*, a ſtout Commander, and Major General of thoſe Counties was left with ſome Regiments of the *Fairfaxian* Army.

But dangers of a more horrid degree ſeemed to threaten the Parliament in *Wales*, not only from ancient, and formerly vanquiſhed Enemies; but thoſe, who had before been Parliament Commanders, and had now forſaken their ſide and cauſe; namely, the Colonels, *Poyer* and *Powel*, and him that had ſo often ſo well deſerved of the Parliament, *Laugborn* himſelf. *Poyer*, who had hitherto kept the Town and ſtrong Caſtle of *Pembrook* for the Parliament, now (ſtrengthned by the concourſe of malignant people) with great animoſity maintained it againſt them. *Laugborn*, a Commander of great eſteem in thoſe parts had raiſed a gallant Army, under whom Colonel *Powel* ſerved. In a ſmall time (the *Welſh* coming in apace to him) *Laugborns* Army was ſo encreaſed, that he muſtered 8000. Both *Laugborn* and *Poyer* (as it afterward appeared) entred into this War by a Commiſſion received from Prince *Charles*; whoſe Auſpicy prov-

ed no better then his Fathers. Colonel *Horton* with a small part of the *Fairfaxian* Army, and some other raised forces went against them with Three Thousand men. But it pleased God, the giver of all Victories, that the success was not according to the number; for *Horton* on the eighth day of *May*, between the two Towns of *Fagans* and *Peterstone* encountring with *Laughorn*, totally routed, and put to flight his whole Army, consisting of eight thousand Horse and Foot. A great slaughter was made upon the place, and the number of Prisoners (being three thousand) equalled the number of the Victorious Army; among whom were taken about an hundred and fifty Officers; a great number of Colors, and quantity of Arms, with all their Ordnance.

There was scarce a more happy Victory (as the condition of things then stood) to the Parliament, then this of *Hortons*; for which, by order of Parliament, a publick thanksgiving to God was celebrated. *Laughorn* and *Powel* escaping by flight, got to *Poyer* into *Pembrook* Castle. *Cromwel* himself about the beginning of *May* was sent into *Wales* with some Regiments, who on the eleventh day of that moneth came to *Chepstow* Castle, which he resolved to besiege, but hastning to *Pembrook*, he left Colonel *Ewer* at *Chepstow*, who within fifteen days took that Castle, and killed *Kemish*, to whom before the place had been betrayed; and *Cromwel* on the twentieth of *May* came to *Pembrook*.

Poyer relying on the strength of the place, refused all conditions, knowing besides, that time was now pretious to the Parliament, being then entangled in so many difficulties at once. But *Cromwel* not being accustomed to despair of any thing, prepared for the Siege, being much furthered in his work from the Sea, by the great industry of Sir *George Ayscough*, who commanded there a squadron of the *Navy*. Sir *George Ayscough* with much care and diligence from time to time furnished Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with great Guns, with provisions of all sorts from *Bristol*, and other places, and every thing necessary for a Siege.

While these things were acting in *Wales*; General *Fairfax*, sent (as before was said) with seven Regiments to suppress the Kentish Risers, pursued them towards *Rochester*. A great number of Kentish men not far from *Gravesend*, were gotten together into an Army; with whom were above

twenty

twenty Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen of the County; and among them divers Commanders formerly of the Kings Armies; though they were more in number, they durst not give the General battle; but some marched away to *Maidstone*, a few kept together about *Rochester*, another part of them went to *Dover*, and besieged that Castle; to raise that Siege the General sent Colonel *Rich*, and Sir *Michael Levesy*; who very happily performed that work.

The General himself marched with his Army to *Maidstone*. Into that Town about two thousand of the Risers were gotten, and resolved to make good the place. The General likewise prepared to besiege them. In no chance of War before, was the vertue of *Fairfax* and his Soldiers more tryed, nor a Victory bought with greater danger. For after that the Soldiers had broke into the Town (which was done with great difficulty) they found a War in every street, and Ordnance planted against them, and were put to fight for every corner of it. At last the General, with the loss of forty of his men, took the Town, two hundred of the Enemies being slain, and about fourteen hundred taken prisoners; four hundred Horse, and two thousand Arms were taken. One thing was wonderful, that an Army of many thousand Kentish men, more in number then the Generals Army, coming from *Rochester* to the aid of their friends, yet notwithstanding, when they came neer, durst not venture to assist them; but stood in sight, while the General took the Town. Publick thanks were given to God, by order of Parliament, for this great Victory.

Now all *Kent* seemed to be quieted (except some Castles, which also within a short time were taken, or yielded to the Parliament) when suddenly a new head of this *Hydra* sprung up; the Lord *Goring* gathering together a remnant of the Kentish Army, with about two thousand men, had marched as far as *Greenwich*, from whence he sent some to see how the Citizens of *London* stood affected to the business; but whilst he staid expecting an answer, some Troops of the Army came in sight, upon which *Goring* and all his Company fled; the Horsemen pursuing, took some Booty and divers prisoners: the Kentish men for the most part fled to their own Houses; The Lord *Goring*, with about five hundred Horse, flying from *Greenwich*, and getting Boats, crossed the Thames

Thames into *Essex*, where (as if the Fates sought out new Victories for *Fairfax* every where) the Lord *Capel*, with Forces out of *Hartfordshire*, and Sir *Charles Lucas* with a body of Horse, at *Chensford* in *Essex* joyned themselves to *Goring*, to whom within a short time divers, that formerly had been the Kings Soldiers, and many *Londoners*, with others, flocked. Some also of higher rank, as Mr. *Hastings*, brother to *Huntingdon*, and *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*.

The General *Fairfax*, crossing the Thames at *Gravesend*, passed with a part of his Army into *Essex*; and sending for the rest of his Forces out of *Kent*, and *London*, pursued the Enemies; whom at last he drove into *Colchester*, and in that Town besieged them: where (because it proved a long siege) we leave him for a time, and pass to other actions.

The greatest of all dangers which threatned the Parliament, was from the North, not contained within the bounds of *England* only, but from the Kingdom of *Scotland*; Major General *Lambert*, the chief Commander in the North, laboring to suppress *Glenham* and *Langdale*, wrought so much, that he kept them within the bounds of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, but they expected the march of the Scotish Army, to which they intended to joyn themselves. *Lambert*, too weak to oppose so great a Force, omitted no diligence in strengthening himself from the neighbor Counties, who were very forward to his assistance, especially *Lancashire*, who raised two Regiments of Horse, and four of Foot, to be conducted by Major General *Ashton*, and joyn with *Lambert* in *Yorkshire*. The English Malignants alone were not very formidable in the North, but that the Kingdom of *Scotland* joyned with them against the Parliament. Wars were made from another Kingdom, that *Cromwel* might be victorious as well against Forraigners, as Englishmen.

The faction of Duke *Hamilton* was then prevalent in the Parliament of *Scotland*, by whom designs were hatched, dangerous to both Kingdoms, contrary to peace, and contrary (for so it was judged by the Church of *Scotland*) even to the Covenant it self. *England* was to be invaded, and a great Army raised under the Command of Duke *Hamilton*, a man ambitious and subtle. The English Malignants (for it was given out that they took Arms for the King) were invited to joyn with them, and pay promised to those that would serve; all

this

this was done, though *Arguile*, *Louden*, and the honeſter Lords proteſted againſt their proceedings; and the Kirk of *Scotland* curſed that War as Impious.

But the greater part prevailed, who therefore ſtyled themſelves the Parliament of *Scotland* by a kind of right; and to curb men of the adverſe faction, a Committee was made, with power given to them to puniſh all thoſe who ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Decrees of the Parliament; and a penalty ſet down, to be inflicted upon all Miniſters, who ſhould from their Pulpits teach the people otherwiſe: by which means it was brought to paſs, that many Miniſters were ſilenced, others puniſhed; and ſome Lords of the other faction retired themſelves to their own ſtrengths; yet could they not ſtop the mouths of all the Miniſters; ſome with a conſtant Zeal denounced the wrath of God againſt that Army of *Hamilton*; and by the wretched ſucceſs of that unfortunate Army, the curſes of the Kirk ſeemed not in vain, no more then of old the Tribunes curſe upon the Parthian Expedition of *Marcus Craſſus*

Conſpiracies by Land (though over the whole Iſland) againſt the Parliament of *England*, ſeemed not enough, unleſs the Sea alſo had rebelled againſt them: Divers of the chief Ships in the Royal Fleet revolted from the Parliament about the beginning of *June*, and ſet the Vice-Admiral *Rainsborough* aſhore; affirming they were for the King, and would ſerve Prince *Charles*, ſailing toward *Holland*, where the Prince then was, and with him his brother the Duke of *York*; who not long before fled privately (being perſwaded thereto by Letters from the King his Father) out of *London*, where he had been kept with great obſervance and ſtate by the Parliament.

The Parliament were much troubled at the revolt of theſe Ships, as a thing of extream danger, and ſent to the Earl of *Warwick* to take the Command of their remaining Navy, and reduce the reſt if he could. *Warwick* cheerfully accepted the employment, and was by the Parliament created (which Title he had born at the beginning of theſe Wars) Lord High Admiral of *England*.

Whileſt *Warwick* was ſerving the Parliament, his Brother the E. of *Holland* unhappily riſe in Arms againſt it Relying (as it ſeems) upon the opportunity of time, while the Navy was revolted, whileſt *Fairfax* in *Kent*, *Cromwel* in *Wales*

were busied; he built likewise upon the affections of the Citizens of *London*; of whom he made tryal, and joyning the young Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother with others to him, he appeared in Arms by *Kingstone* with five hundred Horse; but Sir *Michael Levesey*, and others, who took occasion by the fore-lock, he was there put to flight, and the Lord *Franck Villiers* was slain; *Holland* flying with the remainder of his Horse, was within few days after, at the Town of St. *Needs*, by Colonel *Scroop* (whom the General had sent from *Colchester* for that purpose) altogether subdued: *Dalbeer*, and some other Gentlemen slain, *Holland* himself was taken, and by the Parliament committed Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle.

At the same time *Rossiter* also obtained for the Parliament a gallant Victory over the Forces of *Pomfret*-Castle. Whom, as they were pillaging the Country, and plundring up and down, being a thousand Horse, *Rossiter* fell upon, vanquished, and took Prisoners all their Commanders, took all their Arms and Baggage. *Rossiter* himself (which for a time abated the joy of this victory) was grievously wounded, but he recovered.

These Victories obtained every where by the Parliament, though some of them may seem small, yet will appear great, and worthy of commemoration to all those who consider how much the Common-wealth, if but one of these fights had miscarryed, had been endangered; and the Parliament it self, weighing the number and variety of their hazards, may the better acknowledge the continuance of Gods providence, and his very hand with them. By these little victories also a way was made for higher Trophies, and an absolute subjugation of all their enemies, which about this time miraculously happened.

For now most opportunely was *Pembrook* Castle surrendred to *Cromwel*, which *Poyer* and *Laughorn*, confiding in the strength of the place, had so long stifly maintained. But at last, brought to extremities, they delivered it without conditions, rendring themselves Prisoners at mercy. Which fell out at the same time (Fates calling *Cromwel* to a greater atcheivment) that Duke *Hamilton* with a numerous Army of Scots had entred *England*, and about the beginning of *July*, was further strengthned by the addition of *Langdales* Forces, *Hamilton* marched above five and twenty thousand strong, striking a great terror every where; scarce in the whole time

of these wars did any Army exercise greater cruelty toward the poor inhabitants of *England*. And yet when the Parliament debated concerning this Army, the House of Peers could hardly be brought to declare them Enemies. For the House of Commons had declared, 'That the Scots that un-'der Duke *Hamilton* Invaded *England*, were Enemies, and 'that all the English which joyned with them were Traytors 'to their Country. To which Vote the Lords at last, after much debate, assented. The chief Citizens of *London*, and others, called Presbyterians (though the Presbyterian Scots abominated this Scotish Army) wished good success to these Scots, no less then the Malignants did. Whence let the Reader judge of the times.

Lambert, though too weak in all probability for so Potent an Enemy, was not discouraged; but resolved to oppose the present danger, and if need required, to fight the Scots; But he daily expected the coming of *Cromwel*, to whose conduct this victory was reserved. In the mean time, with prudent retreats, and some skirmishes, not only with *Langdale*, but *Hamilton* himself, he spun out the time so long, until that *Hamiltons* great Army having on the twentieth of *August* entred into *Lancashire*, *Cromwel* was arrived with his forces, who with the addition of *Lamberts* strength, made an Army of almost ten thousand.

This famous battle was fought neer to *Preston* in *Lancashire*, in which all the forces of *Hamilton* and *Langdale* were vanquished and put to flight; whom the Conqueror pursuing as far as *Warrington* (about twenty miles) and killing many in the Chase, took Lieutenant Gen. *Baily* prisoner, with a great part of the Scotish Army, granting them only quarter for their lives. In this Battle were slain three thousand Scots, and taken prisoners about nine thousand. Duke *Hamilton* himself within few days after, having fled with a good party of Horse to *Uttoxeter*, was there taken prisoner by the Lord *Grey*, and Col. *Wait*: with *Hamilton* were taken about three thousand Horse. *Langdale* also not long after was taken prisoner in a little Village, by *Widmerpool* a Parliament Captain. This was the success of *Hamiltons* invading *England*.

Presently after this famous Victory of *Cromwel*, *Colchester* was surrendred to General *Fairfax*; three moneths almost had the General lyen before that Town, with a small Army in respect of the number of the besieged, in a lamentable

rainy season; where the Soldiers patience, no less then their valor was tryed. *Goring*, *Capel*, *Hastings*, *Lucas*, and the other Commanders, until they were reduced to extream necessity, would not hear of yielding, but despised all conditions: their courages were long upheld by vain hopes (besides the smallness of the Generals Army) of aid by insurrections at *London*, and of the success of *Hamilton*, *Langdale*, or the Earl of *Holland*; and more especially of succor by Sea from Prince *Charls*, who was now possessed of those Ships which had revolted from the Parliament; and having taken divers Merchants Ships besides, was himself in person, with no contemptible Fleer, come into the narrow Seas.

But about the end of *August* the besieged in *Colchester*, despairing of any relief, and reduced to extremities (for they had long fed upon Horse flesh) yielded themselves to the mercy of the Conqueror. Two only suffered, Sir *Charls Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, who were shot to death. *Goring*, *Capel*, and *Hastings* were sent to prison, to abide the doom of Parliament.

Thus was the Parliament every where victorious by Land, nor were they unhappy by Sea. For considering that revolt of the Navy, it was to be accounted a great felicity, that no more revolted after them, or no farther mischief ensued. But the Earl of *Warwick* was very careful, and it pleased God by this Fright, rather then loss, to let the Parliament know the frailty of their own condition.

About the end of *August*, *Warwick* with a good Fleet was in the River Thames; when Prince *Charls* with a greater Force, about twenty sail, was come up the River against him, and sent a Command to *Warwick* to take down his Flag, and yield obedience to him, as Supreme Admiral, having the Kings Commission to that purpose. But *Warwick*, true to the Parliament, obeyed not the Summons; Nor was there any convenient place in that narrow Channel (especially for the larger Vessels) to make a Naval fight, and *Warwicks* Fleet not strong enough to encounter the Prince, staied for the coming of their friends, the Porchmouth Fleet. The Government, and bringing about of that Fleet was committed to the care of Sir *George Ayscough*, nor did the Lord *Admiral Warwick* know certainly what was become of that Porchmouth Fleet, whether that also were revolted; for so the rumors were every day in *London*. And certain it is, that the

Mariners being so ill-affected in General, and daily corrupted by the Townsmen in Porchmouth, that Fleet had been lost from the Parliament (by which means the other could not have subsisted) if the descretion of Sir *George Ayscough*, his estimation among the Sea-men, and their love to him had not (happily for the Parliament) then appeared. He wisely sounding the affections of them, cashiering the worst, to prevent the spreading of that contagion, did with many endeavors, and great difficulty, so well prevail at last, that he confirmed the whole Fleet in the Parliaments obedience; And very successfully sailing by Prince *Charls* in the night, brought all his Ships safe to the Earl of *Warwick*. Who now strengthned by *Ayscoughs* coming with the Porchmouth Fleet, resolved to make toward his Enemies. But finding that the Prince, for want of Victual, was gone back into *Holland*, he followed him, not long after, with the whole Fleet, to *Gore*, upon that Coast.

Cromwel, after he had given that great defeat to *Hamilton*, following his Victory, entred into *Scotland*, to help *Arguile*, and *Leven* against the Forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike*; Which he effected with great felicity, and reduced those Garisons, which the Scots and English Malignants had before seized, namely *Berwick*, and *Carliste*, into the Parliaments power. Then going into *Scotland*, to consult about the safety of both Kingdoms, he was most honorably entertained in the Castle of *Edinburg*. Many of the Scotish Nobility and Gentry were sent from the Committee of Estate to meet *Cromwel*, who, after congratulatory Orations made, conducted him to *Edinburgh*, where *Arguile*, *Leven*, and other Lords entertained him, and the rest of the English Commanders, with a most magnificent banquet in the Castle. Thanks were given by the Ministers to *Cromwel*, who was by them styled the preserver of *Scotland*, under God. Such also is the testimony of the Committee of Estate, written to the Engl sh Parliament concerning *Cromwel*; presently after, the forces of *Monroe* and *Lanerike* were disbanded, and all other forces, except fifteen hundred Horse and Foot; which were to stand under the Command of *Leven*, until the Kingdom were setled. It was also decreed both by the Committee of Estate, and Assembly of the Kirk, 'For preservation of Religion, and brotherly amity with the English Nation, That no man, which had joyned with *Hamilton* in the late invasion of *England*,

ſhould be choſen into the new Parliament, (which was then called) or into the Aſſembly of the Kirk. For the Faction of *Hamilton* were judged Enemies to Religion, and both the Kingdoms.

It was worthy of noting, that that Engliſh Army, which were by the religious Party of *Scotland* called a Bundle of Sectaries, and reviled by all opprobrious names, ſhould now be acknowledged by the ſame Scots to be the inſtruments of God, and vindicators both of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*. The greateſt Peers of *Scotland* alſo did ingenuouſly confeſs their raſhneſs and Error the year before, for accuſing this Army as Rebellious, for acting the very ſame things in *England*, which now themſelves were enforced to act in *Scotland*, for preſervation of that Kingdom.

This great change in the councel of *Scotland* had been to be wondred at, if the change that then happened in the Engliſh Parliament had not been a greater miracle. Who would not be amazed at this, that *Cromwel*, for vanquiſhing a Scotiſh Army, by which he delivered *England* from the worſt of miſeries, ſhould be acknowledged there the Preſerver of *Scotland*, and not here allowed the Preſerver of *England*; & that the ſame Victory of his againſt the Scots, ſhould pleaſe the Presbyterian Scots for Religions ſake, and for Religions ſake diſpleaſe the Presbyterians of *England*; *Oedipus* himſelf cannot unriddle this; eſpecially if he judge according to reaſon, not according to what Envy, Hate, and embittering Faction can work.

The face of the Engliſh Parliament was now ſuddenly changed; and the Votes which paſſed the year before, namely, 'Of making no more addreſſes to the King, were annulled and made void; thoſe Votes, upon which the Parliament (as before is ſaid) had publiſhed a Declaration to enform the World concerning the reaſon and neceſſity of their proceedings. Their Counſels were now quite changed, and new Addreſſes to the King (the formerly impeached Members being again reſtored to their Seats) with more ſubmiſſive earneſtneſs then ever before were reſolved on. The Houſes then fell into a Debate about propoſitions to be framed, and a Treaty to be had with the King (before he had given any ſatisfaction or ſecurity to the people) perſonally at *London*, with Honor, Freedom, and ſafety.

But that was not carried. Only a Treaty was Voted to be

in the Isle of *Wight*, and that the King should choose the place within that Island. Therefore on the fourth of *August* the Earl of *Middlesex*, with two of the House of Commons were sent to the King. Who made answer, that he was very ready to treat of Peace; and named *Newport* in that Island to be the place. For that business Commissioners were presently chosen out both Houses; Five Peers, *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, *Salisbury*, *Middlesex*, and *Say*. Ten of the Commons, Lord *Waldman*, *Holles*, *Perpoint*, *Vane* Junior, *Grimstone*, *Pots*, *Brown*, *Crew*, *Glyn*, and *Buckley*.

The King, during this treaty, found not only great reverence and observance from the Commissioners of Parliament: but was attended with a Prince-like retinue; and was allowed what servants he would choose, to make up the Splendor of a Court. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marques of *Hartford*, the Earls, *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with other Gentlemen of note, and a competent number of them, waited in his train; his own Chaplains, and divers of his Lawyers, to advise him in the Treaty, were allowed there.

But while this Treaty proceeded, and some Moneths were spent in debates, concessions, and denyals: Behold another strange alteration happened; which threw the King from the heighth of honor into the lowest condition. So strangely did one contrary provoke another. Whilest some labored to advance the King into his Throne again upon slender conditions, or none at all: others weighing what the King had done, what the Common-wealth, and especially what the Parliaments friends might suffer, if he should come to Raign again with unchanged affections, desired to take him quite away. From hence divers and frequent Petitions were presented to the Parliament, and some to the General *Fairfax*. 'That 'whosoever had offended against the Common wealth, no 'persons excepted, might come to judgment.

The first Petition of that kind was presented to the Parliament upon the Eleventh day of *September*. The Title of the Petition was, 'to the most Honorable the Commons of *Eng-* '*land* Assembled in Parliament.

'The humble Petition of many thousands of well-affected 'men in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, in the Borough 'of *Southwark*, and the neighboring Villages, Inhabitants.

This Petition, which broke the Ice, was followed in the space of one Moneth, by many other Petitions of the same

kind, from divers Counties of *England*, and several Regiments of the Army; namely, from the County of *Oxford*, on the 30. of *September*. From the County of *Leicester*, on the second of *October*. From many Commanders in the Army, on the 4. of *October*. Three other Petitions brought upon one day; namely, the tenth of *October*. Another from *Ireton*'s Regiment on the 18. of *October*. And another from *Inglesbies* Regiment, on the 21. day of the same Moneth.

The scope of all these Petitions was the same, that Justice might be done, and that the Chief Authors of so much bloodshed in *England*, and so many calamities to the Nation; namely those, who had been the raisers of this Second War, and were now in the Parliaments custody, *Hamilton*, *Holland*, *Capel*, *Goring*, and the rest, might be punished. But especially they entreat that the King himself, the Chief offender, the raiser of the whole War, and author of *Englands* calamity, might be called to Judgment. *That the Parliament would give them leave to remember what the Parliament it self had the year before decreed and declared against the King; and what the Kirk of* Scotland *in* 1646. *had declared against the same King; That he was guilty (besides other horrid Crimes) of shedding the blood of many thousands of his best Subjects. Which things if they were true, and not at all punished, nor any satisfaction made, it might be feared would provoke (by so much injustice) the wrath of God; who had delivered that King (after so bloody a War) into their hands. They therefore humbly entreat the Parliament, that they would not ungratefully throw away so many miraculous deliverances of Almighty God, nor betray themselves and their faithful friends, by deceitful Treaties, to an implacable Enemy.*

This was the sence of all those Petitions, which during the Treaty, were daily presented to the Parliament, and by them laid aside. But at last these desires prevailed; especially after that the Remonstrance of the Lord General, and the General Councel of Officers held at St. *Albans* the 16. of *November* 1648. was presented to the Parliament on the 20 day of the same *November*. But by what means, or what degrees, it came at last so far, as that the King was brought to tryal, condemned, and beheaded; because the full search and enarration of so great a business would make an History by it self, it cannot well be brought into this Breviary, which having passed over so long a time, shall here conclude.